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ABSTRACT

The bulletin probes the debate over the nature of social studies and considers the role of social studies in the curriculum. It is intended to be a clarification of the field of social studies for textbook authors, curriculum developers, and educators. The bulletin is presented in five chapters. Chapter I discusses the confusion which has resulted in the discipline due to fragmentary influences of a number of interest groups, such as historians, social scientists, patriotic groups, and the reflective inquiry school. Chapters II and III present an historical survey of the birth and evolution of the social studies, stressing highlights such as the influence of the church and state before 1880, domination of historians at the turn of the century, restructuring curriculum in response to social and citizenship concerns in the 1940s, development and subsequent decline of the New Social Studies in the 1960s, and the move toward skill development and values clarification in the 1970s. Key issues debated during each stage of development have been indoctrination, content, and practicality of knowledge. In chapter IV, social studies is defined as an integration of experience and knowledge concerning human relations for the purpose of citizenship education. An analysis of social studies based on this definition is presented in chapter V, followed by reactions from five leaders in social studies in the appendix. (Author/DB)

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DEFINING THE SOCIAL STUDIES

Robert D. Barr
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Bulletin 51

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Foreword

Social studies has an identity crisis. More than most disciplines, social studies has struggled with what it is—or what *they are*; for part of its confusion is whether it is one thing or many. Presumably, the consequences of an identity crisis are that it undermines self-confidence, allows outsiders to impose an identity, and impedes the setting of priorities. While social studies smarts under all three of these negative effects to some degree, it has also profited from the lively intellectual debate that the identity crisis has provoked among social studies disciples. On balance, who can say whether the field would have been better served if no identity crisis had existed or whether the inability to resolve the primary question—what is social studies—has kept the field alive, flexible, and responsive to changes in society?

It is not likely that this bulletin will silence the debate over the nature of social studies. What is important is that it sharpens the points of disagreement and provides the evidence for more cogent arguments. The authors briefly trace the roots of social studies, providing an historical perspective on the current state of disarray. For analytical purposes they set forth three "traditions" that help clarify many of the different perspectives on social studies. And they offer their own definition of social studies—not so much to put an end to the discussion as to offer a way to bridge contending points of view. A novel feature of this bulletin is the inclusion of statements by five leaders in social studies who were asked to react to the authors' work.

This is not a "will it help me on Monday" kind of bulletin. It is not practical, merely basic. Teachers will not find classroom exercises, teaching plans, or skill lessons in any of the pages that follow. What they will discover through careful reading may be of even greater worth: a stimulating discussion of why social studies is in the school curriculum and why the need for effective social studies instruction has never been more important.

Professors Barr, Barth, and Shermis have explored the topic of this bulletin for several years. I am pleased that they permitted the National Council for the Social Studies to publish the results of their study. I also wish to acknowledge the contributions others have made to this publication. Appreciation is due to members of the Committee on Racism and Social Justice and the Committee on Sexism and Social Justice, who review all NCSS manuscripts prior to publication. I am grateful to the Publications Board, whose members planned and supervised the preparation of this bulletin, as they do all other NCSS publications. And, finally, a special thanks is due Daniel Roselle, Joseph Perez, and Mary Matthews, the NCSS staff who patiently work with authors, committees, and boards to produce high quality publications such as this.

Howard Mehlinger, *President*
National Council for the Social Studies

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Edgar B. Wesley and others have faced the problem of defining the social studies.

1. The Seamless Web of Social Studies

The field of social studies is so caught up in ambiguity, inconsistency, and contradiction that it represents a complex educational enigma. It has also defied any final definition acceptable to all factions of the field. Charles Beard caught the complexity of the area when he made his now classic statement that ". . . such is the unity of all things that the first sentence on instruction in the social studies in the schools strikes into a seamless web too large for any human eye."[1]

For almost one hundred years now, scholars trapped in that endless maze called "social studies" have labored to project some order or pattern on the chaos around them; but, like the blind man explaining the elephant, perceptions from different vantage points in the field were out of synch. It has often been said that an academic discipline is whatever scholars in the discipline say it is. Or, as Fred Newmann has said, "The existence of structure [of a discipline] is mainly the function of the scholars' ability to construct it. . . ."[2] For the social studies the problem has been that there has been a lack of consensus among scholars as to what the field of social studies is or should be. Scholarly definitions of the social studies have been characterized by conflict rather than consensus. If the social studies is what the scholars in the field say it is, it is a schizophrenic bastard child.

Social studies has been defined by some as simplified social science; others have defended the social studies as being a fusion or integration of the social sciences. Some have believed that the social studies *are* the social sciences, and have chosen to use the term "social science education." There have always been those who see social studies as the study of history; there are also those who would abolish history from the social studies. Others, of course, have staunchly defended the social studies as instruction in patriotism and value inculcation, but there have likewise been those who have demanded value neutrality and scientific objectivity. In recent years some educators have argued that the social studies is a unique discipline, or at least an emerging discipline, concerned with the process of thinking, decision making, value analysis, and inquiry skills. There is, in fact, no agreement over whether or not the term "social studies" is singular or plural. Even as early as 1935, Rolla Tryon admitted his exasperation with the field. "No one to date," he said, ". . . has ever been able to explain how the same expression [i.e., social studies] can legitimately have two meanings that are exactly the opposite."[3]

The most enduring definition was developed by Edgar Wesley some forty years ago. "The Social Studies," said Wesley, "are the social sciences simplified for pedagogical purposes."[4] This early definition has held on with an enduring tenacity and, even though few have ever been completely satisfied with it (including in recent years Edgar Wesley), most recent definitions reflect its origin. The Thesaurus of ERIC Descriptors states that the "social studies consist of adaptations of knowledge from the social sciences for teaching purposes at the elementary and secondary levels of education." This parallels closely the definition found in the United States Office of Education's Standard Terminology for Curriculum and Instruction, which states, "The social studies are comprised of those aspects of history, economics, political science, sociology, anthropology, psychology, geography, and philosophy which in practice are selected for instructional purposes in schools and colleges." These definitions are strikingly similar to the one found in the NCSS charter. "The term 'social studies,' " the charter reads, "is used to include history, economics, sociology, civics, geography, and all modifications of subjects whose content as well as aim is social." In all these content definitions, the social studies is conceived as the subject matter of the academic disciplines somehow "simplified," "adapted," "modified," or selected for school instruction.

Inherent in all content definitions are arguments about which disciplines make up the social sciences and even which disciplines are "social." In the above definitions, philosophy is included in one definition of social studies, and omitted in another. What to do with new or developing disciplines also poses problems for content definitions. Such fields as psychiatry, linguistics, and communications are often ignored by content definitions. And since the interrelationships between science and society are becoming more and more evident, the question arises whether ecology should be included as content for the social studies, or whether even biology, zoology, and engineering should be included. With current definitions, there is no way of knowing.

The confusion in the field is apparent in those who write textbooks, prepare curriculum materials, teach educational methodology and philosophy, and certify the professional preparation of social studies teachers. There is an obvious disagreement between the leading proponents in the field, not only about what the goals of the field should be, but even about what content is acceptable.

The content of social studies is a smorgasbord of this and that from everywhere; it is as confusing and vague as is the goal of citizenship, for not only do social studies educators have conflicting ideas as to how to create a "good" citizen, they cannot even agree on the meaning of the term. One wonders, then, what is left to be said of a field which uses a loose confederation of separate subjects for its content and has little or no agreement regarding goals and objectives.

Confusion in the Classroom

The lack of a distinctive definition for the field of social studies has created especially difficult problems for the classroom teacher. Consider a beginning social studies teacher. For twelve years, during his or her public school education, the beginning teacher has been exposed to the content and objectives of social studies. Following graduation, the student has experienced four or five years of study in history and the social sciences, courses in social studies methods, and a semester of student teaching.

After 16 years, it ought to be reasonable to expect that beginning teachers would have a fairly clear professional identity and know what the social studies is. One would expect them to be able to articulate instructional goals, to possess a definition that is based on an understanding of the nature of the field, and to be able to select appropriate content and instructional methods to meet their goals. Unfortunately, such is often not the case. The lack of clear, concrete definition to the field of social studies results in personal and professional conflicts. For teachers, social studies is often an experience in classroom confusion.

The 16 years of social studies education that precede a beginning teacher's first job are, for the most part, an incoherent set of experiences which leaves him or her with no clear identity as a social studies teacher. The twelve years of public school exposed the teacher to one variety of social studies: isolated and fragmentary bits of information about past events; the structure and function of governmental institutions; and names, places, and events, often interspersed with covert or overt indoctrination designed to promote loyalty to acceptable cultural values and particular economic institutions.

For twelve years many future social studies teachers are teased and tormented. Then, during their four years of college, they develop different impressions of the social studies. After academic work at the college level, a number of future social studies teachers tend to see the social studies as concepts and generalizations, historiography, and scholarly research. Some may begin to identify with the historians, sociologists, and political scientists with whom they study; and they may leave college thinking of themselves as a "history teacher" or a "sociology teacher," rather than as a "social studies teacher." During the last year or so of college, the future teachers are confronted with yet another point of view. In education courses and in social studies methods, they are encouraged to help their students function effectively in a democratic society, to develop the skills of problem solving or critical thinking, and to concern themselves with the needs and interests of their students. During their first teaching position, different and often conflicting pressures once again occur. The culture of the local school presses in upon them, and the subtle pervasiveness of local community values surrounds them.

Too often social studies teachers enter their profession uneasy and confused. They do not know whether they should be teaching social science concepts, stimulating reflective inquiry, developing "good citizens," or attempting to do all these things. Should they teach students what is "right" or should they teach students to be independent, critical thinkers? Such teachers may spend a good deal of time and effort on the academic disciplines in which they studied, and they may often openly attempt to indoctrinate students. They may also encourage students to think for themselves. And while all of these activities can be defended in terms of preparing students to be effective citizens, the new teachers may be deeply troubled and confused by their inconsistency and by the conflicting expectations that have surrounded them. The same confusion is loose in the field and can be seen in textbooks, recommendations of scholars, and professional standards.

Competing Conceptions

The social studies teacher is surrounded by textbooks, course syllabi, and professional literature stressing a wide variety of different ideas and issues. The teacher can find material emphasizing global education, multicultural education, decision making, inquiry, values, concepts and generalizations, the environment . . . and on and on. The following is a brief survey of some of the competing conceptions of social studies that press in upon the classroom teacher.

Emphasis on Decision Making. One group of scholars stresses that the social studies should be concerned primarily with teaching youth the skills of decision making. By and large, these are educators who teach social studies methods courses, develop curriculum, and supervise student teachers. They tend to follow John Dewey and his interpreters in relating the purpose and content of the social studies to (a) the imperatives of a democratic, self-governing society, and (b) the requirements of "critical" thought, "problem solving," and decision making. Thus, to quote from Shirley Engle:

> . . . the social studies are centrally concerned with the education of citizens. The mark of the good citizen is the quality of decisions which he reaches on public and private matters of social concern.[5]

Elsewhere, Professor Engle makes a similar point:

> In the last analysis, increasingly more informed and mature treatment of our persistent social problems is the single most important objective of the social sciences.[6]

Since it is the solution to social problems about which citizens must make decisions, it is logical that "decision making" ought to relate somehow to social problems and matters of public controversy.

Emphasis on Ethnic Studies. In the past ten or fifteen years, an extremely articulate group of educators has recommended that it is essential to sensitize students to the culture of blacks, Spanish-speaking people, and other minorities. Thus, classroom teachers recently received a pamphlet from the National Council for the Social Studies recommending assignments in ethnic studies. These assignments included:

> 1. Compile a list of criteria to be used in detecting racism in individuals, institutions, and American culture.
> 2. Have students view their own classrooms and teachers as fields of study. . . . They would study . . . for evidence of racism by looking specifically at attitudes and actions of teachers and students, and classroom activities. . . .
> 4. Make a set of criteria for analyzing the content of textbooks. Follow this exercise through to its ultimate conclusion by finding out whether the textbooks are racist and producing a different version to correct the mistakes or eliminate the racism. . . .[7]

If these exercises strike one as being perhaps a bit extreme, they stand in stark contrast to a hundred years of stark racism in social studies textbooks.[8] Over a century, social studies texts have glorified the Anglo-Saxon heritage; denigrated non-white, non-Anglo-Saxon, non-Protestant, and non-male elements; ignored the cultural contributions of blacks, Jews, and all other ethnic groups; and treated minorities generally in unflattering stereotypes.

Emphasis on "Special Interest" Areas. While blacks, Jews, and Mexican-Americans are encouraging teachers to modify social studies curriculum, other special interest groups are doing precisely the same thing. The Law in Action Series is but one of a number of recently formed, nationwide curriculum organizations designed to promote respect for the police and other legal institutions. From a statement of objectives preceding a unit:

> Although this unit does not expect to dramatically change student attitudes toward police, it does intend to deepen a student's understanding of the complexities of the problems facing police in our society. The purpose of these lessons is to involve the student in learning practical information about a police officer's job, facts about lawful police procedure, by putting oneself in the police officer's shoes.[9]

There are thousands of similar examples, all suggesting that comparatively few public or private special interests have missed an opportunity to influence the teaching of social studies. Not only organizations promoting respect for law, but governmental agencies, steel manufacturers, coal mining organizations, labor unions, patriotic groups, pro-church groups, groups opposing any church-state relationships, solid waste disposal organizations, and ecology and environmental associations have, at one time or another, created curriculum, legislated on their own behalf, or kindly offered to educate students in their own point of view. It goes without saying that many such organizations are frequently hostile to each other. Often the success of one of these factions in influencing curriculum materials has led to overt hostility from other factions and, occasionally, even battles in the streets.[10]

The point of all of this is that the social studies curriculum is not simply the creation of educators and social scientists; it is equally the product of all the diverse cultural forces which view schools and students as fertile ground for their particular point of view. Even more, the social studies is the creation of largely unrecognized and inarticulated cultural values which come from what can be called the cultural mainstream.

As could be expected in a pluralistic society, where there is no orthodoxy, no official religion, no accepted creed, and no mandatory ideology, the schools are regarded as a huge marketplace, open to any and all. Within schools, those courses designated "social studies" are widely regarded as *the* place where teachers *ought* to ". . . select, interpret, and emphasize those aspects of the culture which contain the elements best fitted to strengthen and maintain the basic traditions of western civilization." [11]Social studies classes and the students in them are open areas for *all* hunters. One of the groups that has demonstrated the most consistent interest and pressure for a particular kind of social studies consists of scholars from history and the social sciences. Disagreeing with the indoctrination tendencies of interest groups and the value-laden issues stressed by representatives of ethnic groups, the academic scholars have sought to make the social studies rigorous social science.

Emphasis on Social Science. The various social science disciplines, it is held, offer not only the most reliable, responsible and precise way of knowing the world, they also guarantee that the knowledge that students learn will not be obsolete in a few years. That is, as students learn the processes by which social scientists function, they will be gifted with a *way of knowing* that will endure. They will understand the world in the deepest meaning of the term "understand"; and they will, thereby, become better citizens, capable of making decisions about problems around them. Note, however, that even though this goal *resembles* what we have already discussed, it is not the same. The objective is not some vague notion of decision making and citizenship; the objective is, in the words of one social scientist, to ". . . *democratize a social scientific comprehension of man*." (italics in original)[12]

Most social scientists today accept the goal of citizenship, but also take a distinctive point of view. Berelson believes that citizenship is an end which is reached by means of learning the academic disciplines.

> As a starter, suppose we were to say that we—all of us involved—want to give high school students the best introduction we can, within limits of practicality, to the best available knowledge from the social science disciplines as *a means to* the end of producing responsible citizens.[13] (italics in original)

From this standpoint of the social scientist, the usual social studies fare in schools is an eclectic combination of everything, with no unifying themes and no intellectual framework. The "social stew"[14] that constitutes most social studies, therefore, does not have the ability to teach a "disciplined way of thinking." Given this assumption and the criticisms of traditional social studies, the social scientists have become quite active; and, at least during the 1960s, they have produced a good deal of curriculum material, much of it attractively written, edited, and packaged. It has followed that the kinds of curriculum material social scientists have turned out are essentially mini-versions of the texts, materials, etc., used to train undergraduate and graduate students in the discipline.

That there is a relationship between the social sciences and the social studies seems to be assumed by everyone involved. When one inquires in more detail, however, the issue becomes, as the English are supposed to say, a sticky wicket. Are the social studies the social sciences, with only the conceptual level lowered? Ought the social sciences to provide the basic disciplinary models for the social studies? Should the social sciences be content to provide only the data deemed relevant? Are the social sciences enough for the study of problems, or ought we go to other fields, e.g., literature, psychiatry, law, and religion—or even to the total content of the liberal arts—for more data or for the source of analysis?

Emphasis on Values and Moral Development. In recent years there has been a growing literature in the social studies surrounding values and value education. The emphasis on values represents a strange assortment of viewpoints. Jack Anderson, columnist for the *Washington Post*, has encouraged schools to stress the "old truths" of our land:

> Our belief in ourself is unraveling under the stresses of shattering scandals, breakdowns and breaches of faith in high places. A sense of things gone wrong pervades the land, of values lost, of anger against those who symbolize that loss. Whatever it was we were trying to do together, whatever it was we once stood for, is dissolving into uncertainty and disillusionment. . . . What is our national purpose? What is the source of our patriotism? What could possibly unite and give purpose to such a kaleidoscope populace? Abraham Lincoln had an answer: common belief in the ideas on which the nation was founded. . . . There are many signs today of a hunger in the land for old truths. The time is at hand to turn this inchoate yearning into a movement of national regeneration.[15]

One vehicle for this regeneration, of course, is the social studies. A number of scholars would likewise support teaching core democratic values:

> We had better start telling them [students] what social goodness means and what are some of its great motivating forces. [One such force] is human worth. To this I would add others as dignity, equality, compassion, and a few democratic freedoms.[16]

Others have been shocked by such overt encouragement for indoctrinating core values. Some have stressed that social studies teachers should not teach—i.e., indoctrinate—values, but that they should teach students a process of identifying and clarifying values. This process is outlined as:

1. Encourage children to make choices, and to make them freely.
2. Help them discover and examine available alternatives when faced with choices.
3. Help children weigh alternatives thoughtfully, reflecting on the consequences of each.
4. Encourage children to consider what it is that they prize and cherish.
5. Give them opportunities to make public affirmations of their choices.
6. Encourage them to act, behave, live in accordance with their choices.
7. Help them to examine repeated behaviors or patterns in their life.[17]

Such values relativity may be fine for some, but teachers can also find others who believe that students should not clarify their values so much as they should be able to critically analyze value conflicts. Others stress that teachers should remain value neutral and keep classrooms as objective as possible. More recently, Edwin Fenton, focusing on the work of Lawrence Kohlberg, has developed teaching strategies designed to assist students in moving up a hierarchy of moral stages.

Once again, social studies teachers are left with a constellation of competing and contradictory forces regarding values. Should they indoctrinate values, attempt to be value neutral, teach value clarification, analyze value conflicts, assist in the moral development of youth, or attempt some combination of these activities?

From this brief survey of different factions in the social studies, it is clear that classroom social studies teachers are not alone in their confusion. A further point should also be obvious: it is not only the classroom teacher who seems to lack a clear identity and purpose, it is also the social studies educator who trains teachers, writes curriculum materials, and gives speeches before audiences of teachers. It is difficult to discover the origin of so much conflict in fundamental assumptions about the nature of the field, the selection of content, and the choice of purpose or goal.

At least part of the answer lies in the nature of American society.

Our pluralistic culture is shot through with shifting patterns of behavior and with few well defined norms. What one *ought* to do is rarely clear. Furthermore, the ease by which individuals—any individuals—can influence education is remarkable; and, when an enormous number of shapers are hard at it, nothing very much can be predicted about the product of their efforts.

Social studies has functioned as a mirror for our society. Our society believes and acts as though it must perpetuate its beliefs, values, customs, and traditions—as, of course, do all societies. Schools function as just this vehicle for transmission; and, of all of the school subjects, the social studies most insistently lends itself to being the repository of societal values and traditions. While it is clear that in a pluralistic society it is difficult to locate core values, lasting traditions, and persisting norms, it is also true that social studies teachers are expected to act as if these did, indeed, exist.

The third aspect of the confused situation—that is, of the fact that teachers are exposed over the years to unsystematic and conflicting positions—concerns what we have elsewhere called "word magic."[18] "Word magic" is a term that comes from the field of general semantics. It refers to a particular way of using words. Instead of employing language to communicate meaning, people use languages as if they were trying to wish something into existence. When the illusionist says "abracadabra," we are supposed to believe that it is the sound of the word which causes the rabbit to appear. When teachers use "citizenship," "problem-solving," etc., it is as if they wished these words to conjure up something magically. It is as though the teacher were saying, "When I *say* problem-solving, what I point to *is* problem-solving."

"Word magic" in the social studies has made for some difficult—indeed, insoluble—problems. Over the years, researchers have gathered evidence concerning the ways of learning of social studies students, their response to texts and curriculum, their knowledge of current affairs, and their attitudes towards democratic political values. The results are depressing. Study after study shows that, in fact, the verbalized goals of social studies teachers have not been realized. There is virtually no evidence that social studies students can do as they are supposed to do. From the early 1940s to the present, the research evidence suggests that one cannot distinguish between those who have or have not taken social studies classes; indeed, some research demonstrates that students have learned precisely the opposite of what they were expected to learn.[19]

One wonders why research findings are so consistent; why objective inquirers have discovered that students' biases are untouched, that their grasp of the philosophy of our Constitution is weak, that knowledge of world events is shallow, that decision making is best described as an intuitive and reflexive process instead of the deliberate, rational, and careful act it is supposed to be. One explanation is that teachers have been so influenced by contradictory pressures and points of view that they have internalized attempts to teach very inconsistent objectives. Having learned that *the* goal of the social studies is the improvement of the student's capacity to analyze values and data and to arrive at rational decisions, and having learned that *the* goal is also to have students commit to memory information designed to inculcate democratic values,[20] and having learned that the social science disciplines provide *the* authority for rational thinking, the social studies teacher spends his or her time working at all three, often inconsistent, goals.

In fact, we know that students are often expected to memorize miscellaneous facts about colonies, products, capitals of the states, Civil War battles, and the composition of the Senate by teachers who *say* they want their students to be critical thinkers. There are teachers who believe they are teaching students problem solving by studying the causes of World War II. We know there are inquiry-oriented teachers who attempt to teach students to believe that America is a classless society with equal opportunity for all. Teachers are also teaching social science concepts, "good citizenship," value clarification, inquiry, critical thinking, democratic values, etc. Thus, "word magic."

Conclusion

We have attempted to demonstrate that the social studies is a "seamless web" of confusion. It is a field alive with conflict and confrontation; a field of ambiguity and chaos, choked with competing claims by theoreticians and curriculum designers. There are fundamental differences regarding the nature of the social studies, the goals of the field, the appropriate content, and even the instructional methods. This situation provides difficult problems for the scholars in the field and for the classroom teachers, and leads some educators to think about the social studies in one way and behave in another.

The authors of this book believe that the field of social studies has reached a point in its evolution where it is possible to develop a definition of the social studies comprehensive enough to include all factions in the field, and yet flexible enough to permit differentiation of various points of view. The authors are prepared to argue that, far from a seamless web of illogical inconsistencies, there is logic and order to the field and that there are sufficient areas of agreement at least to attempt a generic definition. This definition differs from most other efforts in that it is not an attempt to say what the social studies *should be*; but it is a careful, systematic effort to develop a definition that is sufficient to describe the social studies in all of its complexities as it exists today. In the following chapters, a historical analysis of the social studies is offered in order to identify and trace the development of the areas of agreement in the field; for if the social studies is a field, there must be areas of basic agreement that all factions would accept. By our tracing back through the evolving development of the social studies, a number of areas of agreement begin to emerge out of the customs, traditions, and usage in the field. One might look at the history of the social studies as a two-hundred-year debate in which agreements have been slowly developed out of controversy, disagreement, and debate. It is precisely these areas of agreement that define the parameters of the field.

The definition we will develop is certainly not the last word on the subject, but it is one effort to conceptualize the field as it is today. Some will argue that any such effort is too simplistic, and detracts from efforts to define what the social studies should be. Nonetheless, the authors believe there is value in developing a conceptual definition of the field, if for no other purpose than to facilitate communication that is helplessly bogged down in "word magic." The historical perspective and the accompanying analysis should help to further describe and explain the social studies.

Chapters Two and Three will include a brief historical survey of the birth and evolution of the social studies. In Chapters Four and Five, a definition of the social studies will be proposed, followed by a systematic analysis of the field based on the definition. Since one goal of this publication is to stimulate discussion, dialogue, and debate, the last section of the book includes reactions from a number of social studies scholars to the authors' ideas.

Footnotes

1. Charles Beard, *A Charter for the Social Sciences*. Quoted in *Social Education*, 27 (April, 1963), p. 181.

2. Fred M. Newmann, "The Analysis of Public Controversy—New Focus on Social Studies," *The School Review* (Winter 1965), p. 413.

3. Rolla Tryon, *The Social Sciences as School Subjects*, Part XI; Report of the Commission on Social Studies (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), p. 402.

4. See Edgar B. Wesley and Stanley P. Wronski, *Teaching Social Studies in High School* (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1958), p. 3.

5. Shirley H. Engle, "Decision Making: The Heart of the Social Studies," *Social Education* 24 (November, 1960), pp. 301–304, 306.

6. Shirley H. Engle, "Thoughts in Regard to Revision," *Social Education* 27 (April, 1963), p. 196.

7. Geneva Gay, "Racism in America: Imperatives for Teaching Ethnic Studies," in James A. Banks, editor, *Teaching Ethnic Studies: Concepts and Strategies*, 43rd Yearbook, 1973 (Washington: National Council for the Social Studies, 1973), pp. 43–44.

8. For examples of overt racism in textbooks, see *A Brief History of the United States for Schools* (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1877), pp. 11–13; John Clark Ridpath, *History of the United States Prepared Especially for Schools: On a New and Comprehensive Plan, Embracing the Features of Lyman's Historical Chart* (Cincinnati: Jones Brothers and Co., 1877), p. 118; D. H. Montgomery, *The Leading Facts of American History* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1896), pp. 39–45; and Wilbur F. Gordy, *A History of the United States for Schools* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), p. 77.

9. Linda Riekes and Sally Mahe, *Youth Attitudes and Police Law in Action Series* (St. Paul: West Publishing Company, 1975), Foreword.

10. In the fall and winter of 1974, schools of Kanawha County, West Virginia, introduced literature anthologies which contained selections relating to "draft card burning" and "life in prison," among others. Parents, led by fundamentalist Protestant ministers, protested, stating that the books were ". . . a threat to patriotism, religion and morality." See *The Times-Picayune*, New Orleans, from September to December of 1974. While Kanawha was experiencing overt violence, the state of California was rent with disputes concerning the teaching of evolution as against special creation in that state's biology textbooks.

11. Richard E. Gross, "Aims for American History in an Era of Crisis," *Social Education* 17 (October, 1953), p. 259.

12. Robert G. Hanvey, "Anthropology in the Schools," *Educational Leadership* 5 (February, 1965), p. 313.

13. Bernard Berelson, "Introduction," in American Council of Learned Societies and the National Council for the Social Studies, *The Social Studies and the Social Sciences* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1962), pp. 6–7.

14. Gary Wehlage and Eugene Anderson, *Social Studies Curriculum in Perspective* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1972).

15. Jack Anderson, "Rediscovery, Rededication," *The Atlanta Constitution*, August 17, 1973, p. 45.

16. Joseph Junnel, "Intelligence Without Morality," *Phi Delta Kappan* (September, 1967), p. 43.

17. Louis E. Raths, Merrill Harmin, and Sidney Simon, *Values and Teaching* (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1966), pp. 37–38.

18. Robert D. Barr, James L. Barth and S. Samuel Shermis, *The Nature of the Social Studies* (Palm Springs: E.T.C., 1977).

19. See Chapter Three.

20. Some argue that the American culture prefers nonreflective purposes. In spite of the irony in the statement, some might say that "democracy" is not among the "core values" of our "democratic" country.

". . . John Dewey published How We Think, and education would never be the same."

2. Emergence of the Social Studies

Introduction

The ambiguity and confusion in the field of social studies can be explained in two ways. First, it is a field that is clearly in the process of emerging. Having been recognized for only 60 years or so, the social studies is a new professional field. It did not spring to life fully formed. It has slowly and often painfully evolved as a field, and it is most certainly still evolving. Not until the last two decades has a body of research begun to be developed, and even more recently have scholars attempted to develop conceptual schemes to explain the diversity in the field.

Second, and more important, is the fact that the social studies has been the focus of a number of vested interest groups, all of which have sought to maintain influence, if not control, over the field. Unlike the areas of English, mathematics, and science, where the academic disciplines are reflected in the school curriculum and where there is a rather direct relationship between university scholars and curriculum offerings at the elementary and secondary level, there has never been agreement over who was or should be responsible for the social studies curriculum in the public schools.

For the past 100 years, historians and social scientists have been competing with each other in an effort to influence the school curriculum and to introduce their disciplines as separate subjects in the schools. The field has also been focused on by social studies educators and by a large number of diverse interest groups. The American Historical Association, the Progressive Education Association, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the National Council for the Social Studies, and many other groups have all, at one time or another, sought to influence what is taught in the social studies.

With each of these various interest groups jockeying for position and lobbying for control, the school social studies curriculum has become something of a battleground. At the center of this conflict is the classroom teacher, forced to walk the tightrope of ambiguity between opposing forces in the field.

Obviously, the most influential factor in social studies instruction has always been the classroom teacher. Yet, until recent years, little has been known of how and to what degree the social studies teacher was influenced by national curriculum committees and by later curriculum development projects. The majority of surveys of school social studies curriculum has been one of two kinds. Over the decades there have been a large number of state and national surveys of courses offered. There have also been a number of tests of high school and college students to determine the effects of instruction. Only in recent years have systematic studies of teacher attitudes, behavior, and instructional practices been conducted. Throughout the history of social studies education, the predominant, yet unrecognized, factor has been and continues to be the classroom teacher.

The task of sorting out the conflicts and confusion in the field of social studies is extremely difficult, for the various groups influencing the field are not carefully divided and distinct. There has been overlapping agreement among competing groups at different times over the past 60 years. Each of the groups has likewise influenced the others and, in turn, has been influenced. There have been major efforts at reconciliation and times of overt hostility. Given this continual change, this fluctuation between agreement and disagreement, the most appropriate way to capture the various elements in the field, especially their particular point of view and impact, is through a historical perspective. This "long view" of the social studies may help us to gain insight into the nature of the social studies, and to identify, clarify, and summarize distinct trends in the field.

Controversial Issues in the Field of Social Studies

A survey of the social studies from a historical perspective helps to clarify a number of important aspects of the field. The social studies has gradually changed down through the ages, ever growing and evolving. At any one time, a particular type of social studies has emerged out of the surrounding currents of dissension, only to be swept away and to emerge much later as a dominant position. Still, through the years of change, there has been an evolving growth in the field and a tendency toward agreement and consensus.

A historical perspective also helps to identify the basic controversial issues in the social studies. The debate over these recurring issues has literally defined the social studies and, in the end, has helped to identify sufficient areas of agreement to constitute the beginnings of a field of thought.

By far the most important issue in the social studies has been the question of indoctrination.* No other single issue has so dominated the discussions and debates in the field. The social studies grew out of the obvious and clearly stated goal of the educators of a new nation to create unity and patriotism. Such a purpose is still very much alive in the late 1970s as a strong demand has erupted for "back to basics." A survey of textbooks over the last 200 years and a concurrent study of research of classroom practices lead to the conclusion that the most consistent characteristic of social studies education in the United States has been efforts at indoctrination. Any analysis of the social studies should be guided by this reality. Most of the efforts of the last 100 years to reform the social studies have been focused on narrow, irrational practices of indoctrination. Yet while most of the literature of the social studies has been written by those who would reform the field, care should be taken to distinguish between what social studies *was* and *is* and what the reformers have felt the social studies *should be*. Regardless of what the scholars believed, the culture as a whole has looked to the social studies as an important means of indoctrinating national loyalties. Any discussion of the social studies demands that care be taken in sorting out what is and what should be.

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*In this book the term "indoctrination" will be used to mean any educational experience resulting in uncritical learning. Any social studies program attempting an uncritical transmission of knowledge would therefore be practicing indoctrination.

Another recurring issue concerns the structure of the social studies: Should the social studies consist of groups of separate subjects, or should some method of organization or articulation be employed to integrate the various areas of knowledge considered important to the social studies? During the late 1800s, the field of history was used as an integrator to organize knowledge into meaningful content. In the early 1900s, others proposed "problems" as a way of integrating knowledge from history and the social sciences. Even later, efforts were focused on defining social processes or a structure of generalizations that would integrate knowledge for use in the social studies. Yet throughout the history of social studies, there are those who have stressed the need to keep the areas of knowledge separate and distinct.

Scholars in the field have also continuously debated whether the social studies should be focused on functional learning, or on the liberal arts tradition of creating the "educated man or woman." Closely associated is the question of whether the social studies should teach knowledge as an end in itself—i.e., teaching history for the sake of knowing history—or whether all instruction in the social studies should be for the purpose of citizenship education or some other goal. While all these issues have split and disrupted the field, the arguments surrounding them have helped to hammer out areas of consensus.

Influence of the Church and State: Social Education Before 1880

Social education before 1880 was practiced as much outside the school as it was inside. At the time of the American Revolution, the majority of American adults had never attended school; and those who did rarely attended more than a year or two. While society ranked education as a paramount social goal, it gave the schools a minor role. School was considered only one of a number of educational institutions, and far from being the most important. The primary educational institutions were the home and family, the neighborhood and local community, and work that was done either in the family or through arranged apprenticeships. For those who were members of established churches, religion was far more important as an educational institution than were schools.

By 1800 there was a wide variety of schools—English or common schools, the Latin grammar school, the academy, and an assortment of parochial schools. Education until the late 1800s existed as something of a "cottage industry," and its primary purposes were moral development, appreciation of nationalistic principles, and attainment of a minimum level of basic skills.

Textbooks before 1880 suggest that social education in school was concerned with teaching moral and patriotic values through historical myths, moral parables, and even religious stories. This highly value-laden education reflected the strong religious emphasis of the times and the nationalistic impulses of the new nation. This approach to social education was certainly not a new idea; it might well be as old as the human species.

Domination of the Historians: Social Education at the Turn of the Century

A dramatic change in social education occurred during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Education was becoming more related to schooling, and public education was becoming a more sophisticated and complex institution. By 1860 the concept of universal elementary education had been accepted, and the majority of states had developed elementary public schools. At least half of the school-age children were attending elementary schools. By 1900 more than half the states had compulsory attendance laws, and universal compulsory elementary education was assured.

As education began moving away from the "cottage industry" model to that of universal compulsory public schooling, a growing concern developed about what should be included in the school curriculum. There was also a concern about systematizing public education to make it more orderly than had been the scattered educational efforts of earlier years. To this end, a number of "blue ribbon" committees were assembled to analyze the problem and make recommendations regarding how and what to teach in the nation's schools.

Between 1880 and 1900, public education came of age, and a number of forces began moving to influence the school curriculum. For the social studies, the dominant force was exerted by American historians. During this time, history was the primary academic discipline concerned with the study of social relationships. Although political science (then referred to as "government"), economics, and sociology were already developing, they were usually included in university history departments; i.e., those emerging areas were considered part of the "mother" discipline of history. It was not until after 1900 that social scientists began breaking away from history to form their own individual disciplines and professional organizations.

It is, therefore, understandable that the first committees making recommendations for public school social studies were composed primarily of historians and were associated with the American Historical Association. The American Historical Association was organized in 1884, and one of its first goals was to promote the study of history in the public schools.

The Madison Conference of the National Education Association's Committee of Ten (1892), and the Committees of Seven (1899), Five (1905), and Eight (1907) were all held under the auspices of the American Historical Association, and, not surprisingly, all endorsed a curriculum composed predominantly of history. Even the other N.E.A. committees of this period, the Committee on College Entrance Requirements (1895), the Committee of Fifteen (1895), and the Committee of Twelve (1897), bore the mark of historians.

The recommendations of all of these groups were influenced by two important factors. First was the fact that until 1880 history in schools was viewed as simplistic tales or stories, and it was hoped that an enjoyable nationalistic mythology would transmit the cultural values of the new nation. The second factor that influenced the historians' recommendations was the prevailing theories of learning. The two major educational theories of the late 1800s were mental discipline and classicism. Proponents of mental discipline believed the mind was a muscle that could only be "developed" through rigorous exercise. The more difficult and obscure the material to be learned, the more the mind was exercised. This led to emphasis on the dead languages of Greek and Latin and the study of mathematics. Classicists believed learning should focus on the great ideas of antiquity that have survived through the ages. The more recent or practical the information, the less educational value it held. Learning was seen from these points of view as a process of developing or training the mind by exercising the mental faculties and "filling up" the empty mind with the time-tested truths of the past. If history was to become part of the school curricula, the view of history as an enjoyable diversion had to be replaced with a far more rigorous image. This concern left an indelible mark on the recommendations of the early committees and has had a lasting influence on the social studies.

The historians of the late 1800s set out to overcome the general scepticism of the educational value of history by developing a unique argument. The historians argued that history was the repository of the great classical ideas and ideals of humankind that were prerequisite to effective democratic citizenship, and that the task of learning this encyclopedic factual knowledge of the past was sufficiently difficult to discipline the faculties of the mind. Thus, the historians shrewdly met the concerns of the mental disciplinarians and the classicists without overtly breaking with the traditional use of history to promote good citizenship.

The Committee of Seven is usually regarded as the group that developed the most influential recommendations ever made by the American Historical Association.[1] It recommended four "blocks" of history: Ancient history, 9th grade; Medieval and Modern history, 10th grade; English history, 11th grade; and American history and Civil Government at the 12th grade. While other committees would tinker with this basic organization, as late as 1942 the College Entrance Examination Board was still organized around the Committee of Seven's recommendations.[2]

Following the classical tradition, it was recommended that the majority of school time be devoted to earlier, pre-American periods of history. In fact, the only portion of American history considered sufficiently remote to be treated as a "classic" was the period dealing with the formation of the Constitution.[3]

The content of the recommended courses was to be historical facts—sets of dates, lists of names, and important events all related to political, diplomatic, and military history. This information was deemed by the historians as essential to all youth; it was to be "learned by heart (i.e., memorized) and, when forgotten, learned again. . . ."[4] And, in the spirit of mental discipline, students were to be drilled to be accurate, painstaking, and thorough in their efforts to learn the historical information. The goal of the courses was to "exercise" the faculties of the mind through the "memory work" and also for the students to gain an adequate "store" of essential historical facts necessary to function as a good citizen.[5]

The rigorous study of history through drill, repetition, and memorization was to strengthen the mental faculties by exercising the powers of memory, imagination, and especially judgment. Characteristic of these intrinsic claims for the study of history is the following statement by two historians at the turn of the century:[6]

> In its effect on the mind, American history is distinctly to be commended. The principal reasons for the study of history are that it trains the memory, is a steady practice in the use of materials, exercises the judgment and sets before the students' minds a high standard of character. In all of these respects, American history is inferior to that of no other country. The events which are studied and should be kept in memory are interesting in themselves and important for the world development.

This approach to history was to have influence far beyond its time. For decades, many continued to view "essential facts" as the "multiplication tables" of history and stressed that they were to be known as automatically as those in arithmetic.[7] The fact that the recitation and memorization of these historical facts were often difficult and boring for students was of no concern, for it was necessary to "strengthen the mind." As late as the 1920s, one educator still reflected this point of view: "Drill thoroughly on the emphasized points. Decide what is important and then assure yourself that your students will carry it with them to their grave."[8] Similar views may still, of course, be found today.

Throughout this period, there was a remarkable unanimity among educators and historians regarding the goal of social education in schools. All of the recommendations of the committees of the American Historical Association and the N.E.A. were highly consistent. This comprehensive agreement on the nature of social education coupled with the concurrent interest of state agencies and professional associations in developing educational guidelines and standards led to a marked effect on the development of public education. The College Entrance Examination Board developed its tests around the areas recommended for study by the historians. The historians' recommendations were implemented by state departments of public instruction as graduation requirements, and they were also reflected in the areas of teacher certification and the university preparation of teachers. Higher education implemented the recommendations as college entrance requirements. The historians and educators began writing history textbooks for use in the public school courses, and they prepared the first methods textbooks that explained how to teach history effectively from the mental discipline point of view. Even state legislators, who were more influenced by the claims of good citizenship than those of mental discipline, got into the act. State after state soon passed laws requiring the study of United States History.

The combined weight of state laws, school and college requirements, teacher certification regulations, and other activities of the historians resulted not only in courses that were predominantly history, but in a specific type of historical study based on the assumptions of mental discipline and classicism. Social education at the turn of the century was composed of historical study. The impact of this early conception survives today. A number of recent surveys of school curriculum reveal that, until very recently, social studies curriculum still had a heavily historical endorsement, and that the history courses were often factual, chronological studies of political, military, and diplomatic history.

Competition and Conflict:
The Rise of Education and the Social Sciences

While the idea of teaching history for the sake of history was to hold its ground well into the twentieth century and continued to be endorsed by the American Historical Association Committee of Five (1905) and Committee of Eight (1907), events were occurring that would shatter the assumptions that supported that point of view. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, social education was affected by a number of landmark events that occurred in staccato fashion in the areas of philosophy, psychology, and the social sciences.

Areas that had traditionally been conceived as subgroups of the field of history began breaking off and developing their own unique disciplines. In 1903, the American Political Science Association was founded, followed two years later by the American Sociological Association. As these and other social sciences developed into recognized disciplines, they made inroads into areas previously viewed as the exclusive domain of history. Some scholars fought to maintain the integrity of history as the "mother" discipline and warned their colleagues that the field was losing some of the most promising areas of investigation to such new areas of study as economics, sociology, anthropology, and political science.

In 1909, John Dewey published *How We Think*,[9] and education would never be the same again. Suddenly the established philosophies of idealism and realism were confronted by the development of an entirely new way of perceiving reality; and, as Instrumentalism and Pragmatism caught on educationally, the growing demand for "functional" learning was to rip away at the classicist point of view.

Between the years of 1900 and 1924, E. L. Thorndike, an experimental researcher, began testing the theoretical assumption of the belief in mental discipline, and demonstrated dramatically that the concept could not be supported by experimental evidence.[10] Nevertheless, the doctrine still lives on today in some places.

Within a period of approximately fifteen years, consensus and harmony among educators and historians regarding social education were exploded by developments in philosophy, psychology, and the social sciences, and the field was shattered into a number of warring factions.

Social Scientists. By the 1900s, a tradition existed in which new areas of study that developed at the university level were moved down into the secondary school and, if the results were favorable, eventually into the elementary grades. As the social sciences began to establish themselves on university campuses and nationally in professional organizations, social scientists increasingly turned their attention to the public schools. The social scientists began lobbying for separate courses in their areas and to mount pressure to reduce or replace history courses in the secondary school.

This was especially true of the political scientists. Founding their professional association in 1903, they set out almost at once to investigate the school curriculum. The American Political Science Association tested a group of 238 students entering into ten universities to determine their knowledge of political science.[11] The political scientists found the results appalling. The test included only five "basic" questions dealing with the structure and function of government. On a 100 point scale, the highest average score on any one question was 12.4%. The political scientists established a Committee of Five in 1906 to recommend changes in the public school curriculum. The committee's report in 1908 followed the tradition of the historians before it by "demanding" that American government be taught in all grades, beginning in grade 5. It also demanded that American government be taught as a separate, distinct course, rather than being incorporated in history courses.

Leaders of each of the social sciences were calling for separate courses in secondary schools in their unique disciplines, and they argued that their emphasis on contemporary issues was useful and functional and was consistent with the newer ideas of philosophy and psychology. One other factor tended to lend credence to their demands. The slowly accelerating rate of social change was already causing an increasing concern with present-day events By the end of this period, Robert S. Lynd, in *Knowledge for What: The Place of Social Science in American Culture*, was arguing that "there was never an era when the appeal to history meant less."[12]

In practice, however, the social scientists discovered that the task of dislodging history from its grip on public education was far from easy. The new social scientists failed to wield the power and prestige of the more established historians. Compared to the historians, the social scientists were a relatively small number, and they found themselves scrapping not only with the historians but with each other. The social scientists found that their task in changing graduation requirements, college entrance requirements, and certification standards was far more difficult than that of the historians when they recommended the *creation* of such standards. However, even though the first round clearly went to the historians, the social scientists were riding the crest of the future. Time, and the increasing rate of social change, were clearly on their side.

Historians. A small group of influential historians recognized the profound changes occurring around them and worked to wrench their field away from the mental disciplinary approaches of the past and to make it more "functional." James Harvey Robinson set the mood of the period in 1912 with a book called *The New History*.[13] This was followed in 1925 by Harry Elmer Barnes' *The New History and the Social Sciences*.[14] Two other prominent historians of the time, both presidents of the American Historical Association, likewise supported the new history. In presidential addresses to the American Historical Association, Carl Becker presented *Everyman His Own Historian*,[15] and Charles A. Beard discussed "Written History as an Act of Faith."[16]

All of these historians, although not always in agreement with each other, championed a more personal, subjective, and useful approach to history, instruction, and the idea of using history as a vehicle for social reconstruction. They also sought to expand the field of history to include social, industrial, and economic forces.

As Robinson put it:

> . . . the one thing that it [historical study] ought to do, and has not yet effectively done, is to help us to understand ourselves and our fellows and the problems and prospects of mankind. It is this most significant form of history's usefulness that has been most commonly neglected. . . . It is high time that we set to work boldly and without any timid reservations to bring our education into the closest possible relation with the actual life and future duties of the great majority of those who fill our public schools.[17]

In 1910, a study of the aims for teaching history revealed more than 200 different goals.[18] It was almost as if the historians reacted to the criticism of this period by inflating their claims for their field. But this criticism had far more serious consequences. Developments of the period split the historians into three groups over school instruction: those who continued to urge the mental discipline value of learning; those who still called for learning history, but learning it for a purpose—to understand the present; and a third group that called for studying history solely for the sake of studying history. Henry Johnson was easily the most eloquent spokesman for this third group. Johnson criticized the inflated claims for historical study.[19] He felt most of the outcomes attributed to or hoped for from the study of history could just as well, perhaps better, be gained from other courses. Johnson believed that the only two unique values that could be assigned to historical study were related to the concept of "historical development" and the historical method. Regarding the "functionalist" historian and their claims, Johnson would say, ". . . to draw from the past, lessons directly applicable to the present . . . may become one of the most misleading and one of the most dangerous of uses that can be made of history."[20]

Not only were social scientists competing against historians and other social scientists for influence in the school curriculum, but now there were historians matched against historians. Nevertheless, if there were differences among the historians regarding the content and goal of historical study, one thing was held in common: they agreed that history should be taught in the public schools, should be taught as a separate subject, and should be used to incorporate the social sciences.

Social Studies Educators. The social studies was born out of the educational ferment of the first three decades of the twentieth century; and, if it was a stormy, difficult birth, it was nurtured into being by a distinguished set of scholarly midwives. John Dewey laid the foundation in *How We Think* (1909) and *Democracy and Education* (1916).[21]

Then came George Counts, Edgar Wesley, Harold Rugg, and his younger brother, Earle. During this time the term "social studies" was first formally used, and in 1921 Earle Rugg helped to found the National Council for the Social Studies.[22] Initially, the National Council met as part of the American Historical Association; but in 1935 Edgar Wesley, then President of NCSS, separated the Council from the historians and, as he put it, set the Council on the "road to independence." [23] The Progressive Education Association was also founded during this time, and the Eight Year Study was initiated. While each of these individuals and events was influential in the creation of the social studies, the 1916 National Education Association Committee on the Social Studies proved to be the focal point of this period. It was to project the direction of developments in the field for the next 60 years.

The 1916 N.E.A. Committee broke dramatically with tradition by assembling, for purposes of determining school curriculum, a group of scholars who were not subject matter specialists. With a few exceptions, the vast majority were public school and university educators. One such exception was James Harvey Robinson, the historian. This was the first time a national curriculum committee had been organized that was not composed largely of historians and social scientists; and, for the first time, the school curriculum and the academic disciplines were considered from a far different perspective than the "add a course" approach to curriculum reform.

Rather than arbitrarily deciding which subject matter content should be included in the curriculum, the N.E.A. Committee members sought to define the goal of public education, then to define the role of social studies curriculum in order to achieve that goal, and finally to use these objectives as the criteria for selecting content from *all* appropriate academic disciplines. All content decisions were to be made on the basis of the contribution of the various disciplines to the desired end of public education.

The committee defined the "conscious and constant" purposes of the American public schools to be the "cultivation of good citizenship." [24] This goal differed markedly from the earlier goal of "history for the sake of history." The committee, emphasizing skills and attitudes rather than factual items, described citizenship as "social efficiency." Its goal was to help each child be a "thoroughly efficient member" of the community, and it defined community in terms of social relationships. The child in school was not to *become* a good citizen, but was to practice good citizenship in his or her own peer community, the classroom. The committee's assumption that the best way to help a child be an effective adult was to help the child live effectively in his or her present life bore the clear mark of Dewey. Students were to study that which was relevant now and for the future, not the past for the sake of history.

The committee also stressed that citizenship and "high national ideals" and "right actions" came not from indoctrination, but through learning and practicing the ability to use "good judgment" in making decisions. This involved considering facts, not learning them, and judging relative values in conflict situations, not simply accepting values as given. The committee desired that every child be taught to organize and test his or her own knowledge since it was believed that the most powerful convictions were those that students formed "by their own natural processes and that were based on their own experience and observations."[25] The content of the social studies was to be the life experience of youth, and the problems, conflicts, and dilemmas of their life.

This, of course, was a dramatic departure from the previous, subject-centered committees of the past. No one was attempting to "obtain justice" for either history or the social sciences. The committee was trying to integrate these areas to further citizenship education. The committee felt history would be *used* to aid in the understanding of contemporary issues and problems. It was also acknowledged that content selection became the increased responsibility of the classroom teachers since they were best able to make decisions on the "needs and interests" of their students. For this reason, the 1916 Committee refused to recommend a specific content or organization. The committee broke with yet another tradition, for their conclusions were reported not in the form of rigid recommendations but in the form of several alternative "suggestions."

At the seventh and eighth grade, courses in European and American history were suggested in which community civics was integrated into each course. Various methods of integration were proposed. One approach proposed devoting three periods per week to history and two to civics. At the ninth grade, a course in community civics was suggested, but history was to play an important part in the course. It was felt that students would utilize history to expand their understanding of contemporary topics. The tenth and eleventh grades would be a more sophisticated repetition of the seventh and eight grade courses. For completing the secondary social studies curriculum there was a suggestion for an entirely new course entitled *Problems of Democracy*. In this course, contemporary problems would be studied in relation to their political, social, and economic components. This was an attempt to organize instruction on something other than the traditional subject lines.

The method of teaching endorsed by the committee was also a break with tradition. Rather than using the accepted expository methods of reading, reciting, drilling, and memorizing, students were to participate in critical inquiry. Teachers were to help students (1) contribute facts from their own experience, (2) utilize other facts gathered through investigation, (3) use their reasoning powers to form conclusions, and (4) submit their conclusions to criticism.[26]

There is consensus among social studies educators that the 1916 Report produced a tremendous impact on the public schools. Unfortunately, it was not the impact that was desired. The primary effect seems to have been to establish a certain organization of courses, paradoxically the very part of the report not recommended for universal use. The call for developing unique curriculum suited for local use seems to have been ignored, as was the integration of history and civics, and the use of topics or problems as a basis for course structure. Most schools appeared to have revised their curricular organization to match the two-cycle approach suggested by the 1916 Committee; yet schools continued to teach history as "content to be learned." In practice, the idea of integrating "civics" into history courses came to be the now famous "current events day." Schools also created two new courses: ninth grade Civics, which tended to be a content course in state and local government; and a twelfth grade Problems of Democracy course, which similarly featured problems as "content." Both failed to capture the inquiry approach suggested by the committee. On the surface, the committee appeared to have had a tremendous effect. In actuality, in matters concerning methods of content selection, and course structures, the committee's suggestions were ignored.

Writing in 1923, in the 22nd NSSE Yearbook, Harold Rugg pointed out that while most schools had implemented some variations of the 1916 Committee "suggestions," most of the social studies still centered on the study of United States, English, European, and Ancient history.[27] He once again urged that the goals of social education could best be accomplished through a unified social science curriculum, rather than through separate subjects. He also tried to explain what most public school educators had failed to comprehend: that citizenship education means gaining skills in making rational decisions, rather than learning facts.

> Is it not clear [he asked] that the vast majority of our people rarely deliberate? Is it not equally clear that critical judgment, instead of impulse, must be the basis upon which our social and political decisions are made? . . . Our children need not one, but many years of practice. . . . Only those who are trained through five, ten, twelve years of practice in deliberation will tend to use critical judgment about contemporary problems.[28]

Clearly reflecting John Dewey, Rugg went on to say:

> Not the learning of texts, but the solving of problems is what we need. . . . For the pupil to think, he first must be mentally blocked and thwarted until he is obsessed with a desire to clear up the matter; he must also have at hand data, the facts on all sides of the issue, before he can think constructively on it; and third, he must be practiced in deliberations on situations that are somewhat similar.[29]

Only content that directly related to the questions the student was wrestling with would be selected, and all relevant content would be used.

The early decades of the twentieth century were a time of transition. For the first time, academicians became interested in insuring "functional" learning in the schools, and, for the first time, educators and a few historians and social scientists began conceptualizing a much larger view of social studies education—a view that encompassed all relevant knowledge for scholarly disciplines in some uniform or integrated fashion for the purpose of citizenship education.

Reconciliation and Restructuring in the Social Studies

Even as the old coalition of educators and historians began falling apart and slipping into that slowly accelerating slide toward fragmentation and competition, new clusters of agreement began to emerge. Within eight years the American Political Science Association did a complete about-face. It reversed its early recommendation for "American government at every grade level," and endorsed a curriculum of community civics that was almost an exact copy of the one proposed by the 1916 Social Studies Committee.[30] The APSA had tested the currents of change and had thrown its lot with what it hoped would be, if not the wave of the future, at least a more solid base of operation against the historians.

Realizing that the initiative for influencing the school curriculum had passed to the educators, a number of historians began to call for a major national effort to reconcile the disparate views of historians, social scientists, and educators. In 1929 a national committee composed of some of the country's most prominent scholars was established by the American Historical Association and charged with conducting a thorough examination of American public school social studies. This Commission on the Social Studies provided the opportunity many scholars had been waiting for, and a major effort was made at reconciling the differences of the various points of view. Such a compromise proved to be a long and complex task. The commission worked over a period of eight years, publishing a seventeen-volume report which today is regarded by most authorities as the most comprehensive analysis of the various factors relating to social education that was ever conducted. The reports analyzed society, history, the social sciences, teaching methods, and, for the first time, they identified social pressure groups as a powerful influence in school social studies programs.

The seventeen-volume report covered almost every conceivable aspect of the field, and the names of the authors read like the honor role of higher education: Charles Beard, Henry Johnson, Bessie Louise Pierce, A. C. Krey, Charles Merriam, George Counts, Merle Curti, Rolla Tryon, Leon Marshall, and others. The prominence of educators on the commission demonstrated how far the field of education had come in only a few decades. The commission realized the disparity in views and the competing "schools of opinion," but it set out to overcome differences and to develop a comprehensive basis for the development of school social studies.

The commission report was an obvious compromise between the competing groups of historians, social scientists, educators, and, to some extent, public interest groups. The designated goal of instruction in the social studies revealed the status of educators, but it also reflected the concerns from other interests. The recommended goal of the social studies was to help develop all students into "rich, many-sided personalities, equipped with practical knowledge and inspired by ideals so that they can make their way and fulfill their mission in a changing society which is part of a world complex." [31]

History and the social sciences were to be used in an integrated way to help youth "reconstruct society." They were to use history and the social sciences to study the past and the present in order to make decisions regarding the directions of change in the future. Charles Merriam put it this way:

> Politics, history, geography, and sociology may well join in the effort to shift the burden of emphasis from the past to the present and the future, from passive conceptions of status to active construction of new types of organization and social cooperation. No one of the disciplines holds the answer to this problem and each of them is subordinate to the larger treatment of the question as a whole.[32]

To achieve this goal of integrating the various areas of knowledge, several organizational schemes were proposed. History, according to the commission, was to serve as the primary unifier or integrator of knowledge. History was to be taught as a substantive body of content to be learned, and it was still believed that this content would strengthen patriotism and democratic attitudes. It was emphasized that studying history also taught critical thinking. History was not to be taught as an end unto itself, but it was to be *used* in helping students understand the complexities of present-day society. It was recommended that history be taught to aid actively in this understanding, and it was even suggested that history be studied to determine the direction of social trends which students should then work to bring about. Thus, cultural transmission was joined to the idea of social reconstruction. It was also recommended that abstract concepts from the social sciences be integrated into history courses to enrich and expand historical explanation. Emphasis was placed on studying processes of development, forces, and problems, rather than on names, dates, and events; and the recommendation was made to shift the major interest away from ancient and classical history and to invest the majority of time in studying more recent historical periods. The "new" content reflected the increasing desire of pragmatic scholars to make history more practical, usable, and relevant to the daily lives of public school youth. The claims for the value of teaching history were far more modest than earlier goals and clearly reflected the ideas of Henry Johnson. Some of the time students would learn content; and some of the time students would learn inquiry skills, i.e., historiography. Recommendations for teaching substantive content were basically the same as before; to learn historiography, students were to be involved in practicing this method of inquiry through the study of primary sources, analysis of historical interpretation, and the writing of their own history. Learning was still looked upon as a difficult, arduous business in which drill and repetition were "indispensable" in transmitting the knowledge, insights, skills, and loyalties to the individual. In addition to the exposition, students were to be introduced to "*sources* for new and current materials and to *methods* of inquiry, scrutiny, criticism, authentication, and verification." Here the scholars seemed to compromise on teaching both content and a method of inquiry. A clear dichotomy existed between these two instructional goals. Some time was to be spent on content, other time would be invested in historiography.

A number of recommendations were made for integrating history and the social sciences. Some suggested teaching history backwards to ensure "coverage" of contemporary issues; others suggested structuring the course around social processes. Leon Marshall developed the first really unique model for replacing narrative, chronological history with a more integrated approach to social studies.[33] Marshall suggested that the social studies be structured around the "processes of living"; i.e., the process of adjustment with the external physical world, the process of biological continuance and conservation, the process of human motivations, etc. Assuming all cultures were involved with these processes, they could be used as a context or structure in studying any society—past, present, or future.

Other attempts were made to bring the various academic disciplines into a comprehensive structure. It was recommended that the content of the social studies be arranged from the concrete to the general, the simple to the complex. This was to function as an "expanding horizon" idea; i.e., students would begin study with that which is nearest—family, community—and proceed to that which is farther removed—nation, world concerns.

Throughout all of these efforts was the concern about integrating history and the social sciences:

> The teaching of various branches of social science, history, economics, government leaves much to be desired from the point of view of civic education in regard to attitude, subject matter and interrelationships. Department rival-

> ries without basis in reality are factors in the situation. The progress of civic education is dependent on the genuine, effective cooperation of these intimately related studies.[34]

In spite of the efforts of a group of America's most distinguished scholars and in spite of years of comprehensive work, the commission appeared to have very little effect on the school social studies curriculum. The Commission on the Social Studies chose not to recommend a specific outline of curriculum organization, as earlier national committees had done. Rather than specifying a pattern for the schools, the commission developed a theoretical model to be used as a frame of reference by school personnel in developing unique programs. It was felt that cultural diversity required that each local area develop a curriculum relevant to its own unique situation, rather than that all conform to a national pattern. The commission's lack of impact on the school may also be an indication of the extent to which earlier conceptions of the social studies had already become so entrenched in public school curriculum that change was next to impossible.[35] To follow the new structures recommended by the commission would have meant drastic change not only in school programs but in revision of the preparation of teachers and certification standards.

However, one should not evaluate the effectiveness of the commission's work solely by its impact in the schools. At the theoretical level, this commission represented a major breakthrough, for it saw history and the social sciences as a unified, integrated body of knowledge and skills, rather than as separate, isolated subjects. The commission also endorsed "functional learning" and accepted the concept of citizenship education as the goal of instruction in the schools. This was a long way from history for the sake of history.

Conclusion

By the early 1940s, the social studies had evolved through a number of fairly distinct stages. It had gone from patriotic indoctrination during the first hundred years of the country's existence to the notion that proper intellectual development required the rigorous training in history for the sake of history. Later it suffered through a period of fragmentation and conflict until it finally emerged with the general agreement that the social studies was concerned with citizenship education and that history and the social sciences would be integrated to achieve that end. Charles Beard concluded in the late 1930s:

> Concurrently social science as a branch of human knowledge might conflict with or have no interest in the reasons for existence offered by the public school system, but inexorably the latter will impose on social studies in the classroom conditions of its own. Insofar as social science is truly scientific, it [social studies] is and must be ethical. . . .[36]

By the 1940s, social studies as citizenship education had already arrived, at least at the theoretical level. That is not to say that the idea of teaching history for the sake of history or teaching social studies for the purpose of indoctrination had disappeared. Both of these positions continued to be proclaimed by adamant scholars, and likewise continued to be characteristic of textbooks and probably of classroom instruction.

What is important during the early years of the social studies is that out of dramatic and seemingly unresolvable conflicts among historians, educators, social scientists, and other competing interest groups, common areas of agreement began to emerge. These areas of agreement were certainly not easily achieved; but out of a decade of intensive study and research by some of the most influential scholars in the various academic areas concerned with social studies, a common conception and definition began to take form. The goal of the social studies was to develop effective, critically thinking, and participating citizens through the study of history and the social sciences. Also, for the first time, the needs and interests of students were elevated to a status alongside the academic disciplines and used for the purpose of content selection and organization.

During these early decades of the twentieth century, the social studies was not only born but began to come of age; but if the field entered the 1940s with a degree of consensus, it was not to last long. For the social studies, the coming years would not be easy. Indoctrination would once again be defended by many; and out of the fears and anxieties of the years of war and turmoil in the world, a growing concern about school social studies was to turn into a vendetta-like witch hunt.

Footnotes

1. Tryon, *Social Sciences*, p. 176.

2. As late as 1942, the College Entrance Examination Board Test was still organized in accordance with the Committee of Seven recommendations. See "Proposed Revision of the Requirements for the College Entrance Examinations in History," *Social Education* 6 (January, 1942), pp. 31–35.

3. National Educational Association, *Report of the Committee of Fifteen on Elementary Education with the Reports of the Sub-Committees* . . . (New York: American Book Co., 1895), pp. 70 and 93.

4. National Educational Association, *Report of the Committee [of Ten] on Secondary School Subjects with the Reports of the Conferences* (Washington, D.C.: United States Bureau of Education, 1892), p. 190.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Edward Channing and Albert Bushnell Hart, *Guide to the Study of American History* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1903), p. 7.

7. Rolla Milton Tryon, *The Teaching of History in Junior and Senior High School* (New York: Ginn and Co., 1921), p. 11.

8. Francis M. Moorehouse, "Syllabus for Ninth Grade Study of American History," Part III, Report of the Committee on History and Citizenship Education, *The Historical Outlook* (April, 1921), p. 119.

9. John Dewey, *How We Think* (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1909).

10. E. L. Thorndike, *Educational Psychology* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1913), p. 127.

11. "Report of the Committee of Five of the American Political Science Association on Instruction in American Government in Secondary Schools," *Proceedings, American Political Science Association* V (1908), pp. 207–251.

12. Robert S. Lynd, *Knowledge for What: The Place of Social Science in American Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939), p. 21.

13. James Harvey Robinson, *The New History* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1912).

14. Harry Elmer Barnes, *The New History and the Social Studies* (New York: The Century Co., 1925).

15. Carl L. Becker, *Everyman His Own Historian* (New York: Appleton-Century-Croft, Inc., 1935). In spite of the fact that Becker criticized Robinson and Barnes, *Everyman . . .* was to add substantial support to this point of view.

16. Charles A. Beard, "Written History as an Act of Faith," *American Review* 39 (1934).

17. Robinson, *The New History*, pp. 17–18 and 134.

18. Henry Johnson, *The Teaching of History* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1940), p. 107.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 118–122.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

21. John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1916).

22. See Wilbur F. Murra, "The Birth of NCSS—As Remembered by Earle U. Rugg," *Social Education* 34 (November, 1970), pp. 728–9.

23. Edgar Wesley, "Social Education Asks," *Social Education* 34 (November, 1970), p. 802.

24. National Education Association, *The Social Studies in Secondary Education*, A Report of the Committee on Social Studies on the Reorganization of Secondary Education of the National Education Association, *Bulletin*, 1916, No. 28 (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Education, 1916), p. 5.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

26. *Ibid*.

27. Harold Rugg, *National Society for the Study of Education Twenty-Second Yearbook* (Bloomington, Illinois: Public School Publishing Co., 1923), p. 8.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 1–2.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

30. *Teaching of Government*, Report of the American Political Science Association Committee of Seven, *Proceedings, American Political Science Association*, (1915).

31. Charles A. Beard, *Charter for the Social Sciences*, Part I, Report of the Commission on the Social Studies (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), pp. 96–97.

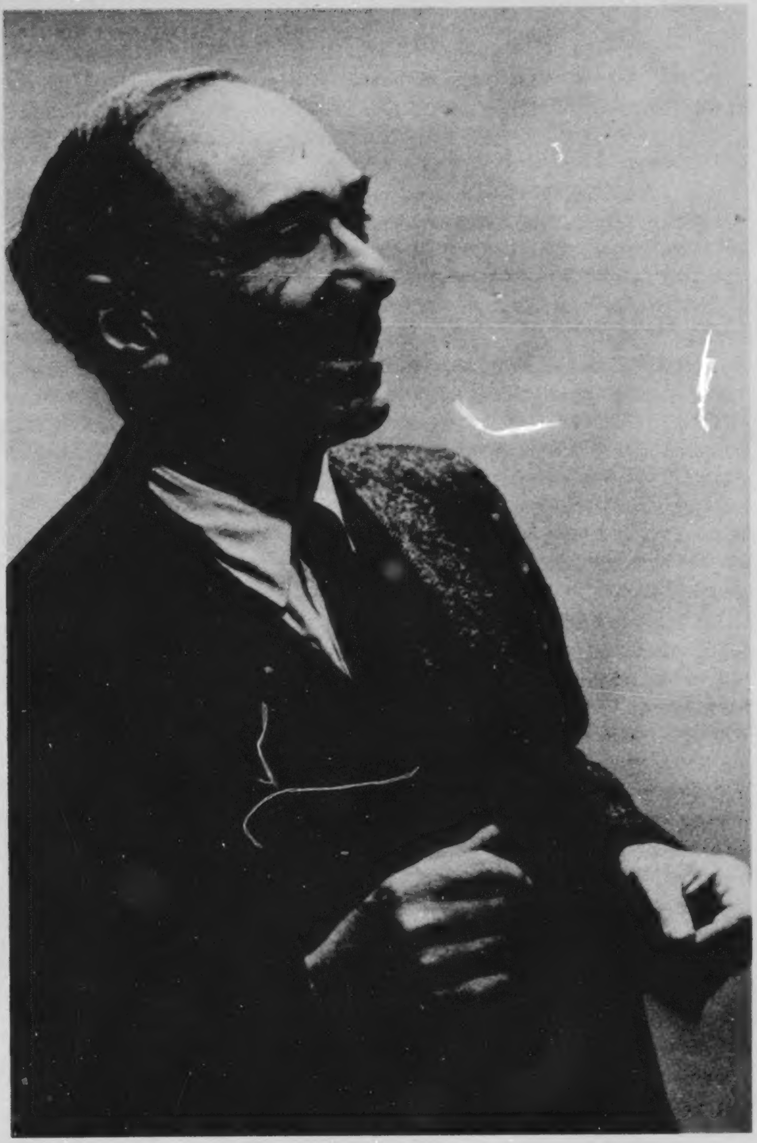
32. Charles E. Merriam, *Civic Education in the United States*, Part VI, Report of the Commission on the Social Studies (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), p. 98.

33. Leon C. Marshall and Rachel Boetz, *Curriculum Making in the Social Studies*, Part XIII, Report of the Commission on the Social Studies (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937).

34. Charles E. Merriam, *Civic Education in the United States*, p. xiii.

35. Some have also explained the lack of the Commission's impact by pointing out certain "socialistic" tendencies in the Commission reports. The Commission often talked of the trends toward "collectivism" and interdependency in this country.

36. Charles A. Beard, *A Charter for the Social Sciences*, Part I, Report of the Commission on the Social Studies (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932).



"The developments of the 1960s rested on a small, influential book by Jerome Bruner entitled The Process of Education."

3. The Social Studies: Evolutionary Development

Introduction

Between 1940 and the present day, social studies suffered through difficult periods. Between 1940 and 1950, the social studies was subjected to an attack from almost every side. At the heart of the attack was a familiar issue—whether or not the social studies should inculcate youth with democratic attitudes and values. As America battled through two decades of war and fears of war, a growing uneasiness turned into an insistent demand for the schools to teach youth the knowledge, skills, and attitudes to participate effectively in a democratic society. This demand led to a greater emphasis on the study of history—even to the identification of the important facts that should be stressed, the study of American governmental institutions, and the detailed analysis of the American Constitution. Far from consolidating earlier efforts to integrate the academic disciplines, the fears of the 1940s and 1950s forced a re-emphasis on separate subjects, rote memorization of factual information, and uncritical transmission of selected cultural values.

By 1960, the turmoil of two decades paved the way for what might be viewed as a revolution in the social studies, a revolution engineered and implemented largely by historians and social scientists. Both historians and social scientists were attracted to the field of social studies by the lure of huge federal grants for curriculum development. Almost overnight, scholars in all of the social sciences and history began curriculum development projects. Never before had an effort at social studies revision begun with such popular support and financial backing, and with such an abundance of scholars from so many academic disciplines working together. And the curriculum materials they produced were both innovative and stimulating.

However, by the 1970s it was clear that the dream had not become a reality and that the new social studies had been stillborn. The 1970s arrived with the social studies once again under attack and still searching for identity. Looking back now from our vantage point in the late seventies, it would seem that the issues that had confronted the social studies for the past 70 years were still unresolved: concerns over the question of indoctrination, conflicting goals of instruction, and disputes over content.

Nevertheless, over the past thirty-five years, the social studies, despite a variety of problems, continued to evolve. Structural substance began to emerge that could be supported by a growing number in the field as scholars began to reach greater consensus on the primary instructional goals.

Chaos and Contradiction in the Social Studies: 1940-1960

The period between 1940 and 1960 was characterized by a number of rather sharp contradictions. On one hand, the movement for integrating various academic disciplines for the purpose of citizenship education continued at a much higher level of sophistication. On the other hand, a separate trend could be discerned that was to seriously weaken this emerging conception of social studies education. This was due to a number of studies designed to determine the influence of the school curriculum on students' attitudes and understandings. It was also closely related to public opinion during World War II, the Cold War, and the Korean Conflict. For twenty years the social studies would be tested in the fires of public opinion.

Ever since Dewey had proposed his theory of reflective thinking as an explanation of how we should think and learn, educators had tried unsuccessfully to translate his theoretical ideas into classroom practice. You will recall that the 1916 Committee attempted to do this by focusing on "felt problems" growing out of the needs and interests of youth. The committee obviously felt more comfortable with this concept than did public school educators who translated the concept into two new courses, Civics and Problems of Democracy. Now a second generation of scholars would help to explicate further the ideas of Dewey. In 1940, Boyd Bode published *How We Learn*,[1] which continued to develop Dewey's notion of "problem" and reflection. Ten years later, Earl Johnson's book, *Theory and Practice in the Social Studies*,[2] attempted to translate the ideas of Dewey and Bode into systematic curriculum.

A major breakthrough came in 1955, when Maurice Hunt and Lawrence Metcalf conceived of a completely new way of integrating the knowledge and skills of social science with the goal of citizenship education.[3] Drawing heavily upon sociological and psychological concepts and the earlier works of Bode, H. G. Hullfish, Philip Smith, and Alan Griffin, Hunt and Metcalf argued that school social studies programs should be organized not around separate social science subjects, but around the "closed areas" of our society; i.e., those areas (sex, patriotism, morality, race, etc.) which are so clouded by prejudice, ignorance, superstition, and controversy that they are largely "closed" to rational reflection. Arguing that such a curricular organization would immerse students into the doubt, uncertainty, and frustrations necessary to identify "felt" problems, Hunt and Metcalf developed a detailed explanation not only of what they considered to be our society's closed areas, but also of instructional techniques for teaching reflective inquiry.

Hunt and Metcalf made careful distinctions between the social sciences which existed to expand the frontiers of dependable knowledge, and the social studies which sought to teach students the ability to make rational decisions on matters of public concern. The social sciences provided reliable facts, principles, and theories; and the social studies utilized these data in the decision-making process.

Social studies defined as reflective thinking received one more important contribution in 1960 in an article entitled "Decision Making: The Heart of Social Studies Instruction"[4] by Shirley Engle. In this brief article, which would be widely quoted and highly influential, Engle suggested a rationale that clearly reflected both the ideas of the 1916 Committee and John Dewey's philosophy.

Thus, between 1940 and 1960 a trend continued at the theoretical level toward developing more sophisticated and practical ways of integrating the social sciences for the purpose of citizenship education. Meanwhile, away from the scholars' thoughtful deliberations, a storm was raging over both the nature and effects of the social studies.

Even while the scholars from the Commission on the Social Studies labored over their analysis and theoretical constructs between 1929 and 1936, when the final volume of the report was published, the world outside the ivory tower was in turmoil. While the commission worked, the Great Depression crashed upon the world, and Hitler began preparation for his blitzkrieg invasion of Poland. It would not be long before all of the anxieties of the 1930s would intrude upon the labors of thoughtful scholars. Bessie Louise Pierce had been documenting both the positive and negative influence of particular citizen organizations on public schools.[5] She had identified a long list of organizations that actively worked to influence the school curriculum: the American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, in addition to fraternal, religious, and youth organizations. She found that the educational programs of the societies and organizations she surveyed included a "wide variety of plans focused on the objective of a more intelligent citizenry and an unquestioned loyalty to country."[6] She discovered that these groups had supported compulsory school attendance, literacy, greater pupil participation in school government, better school equipment, and federal support. She also found areas that caused her concern.

> They [citizens' organizations] have attempted likewise to indoctrinate pupils with a loyalty to country, which would be acceptable to them, through a study of the Constitution and other charters of Americanism and through ceremonials attesting homage to the flag. The controlling factor of many pro-

> grams appears to be the desire to inspire in each individual love of country, sometimes based upon invidious comparison with other nations, an unparalleled attention to the heroic exploits of characters of history and the creation of unquestioned loyalty to governmental forms and policies.[7]

She went on to say, "In their use of the schools to carry forward their special interest, groups have attempted sometimes to effect legislation to enforce their will and resorted to the pressure of public opinion upon the teaching personnel in order to see that there is conformity in the classroom."[8]

Such impact on school policy can be seen in state legislation. In 1917, five states required the teaching of the United States Constitution; by 1940, forty states had adopted the requirement.[9] The number of states requiring the study of United States History rose during this same period from fifteen to twenty-six. By 1942, the number had risen to forty-six states; by 1954, the number had increased by one more.[10] By 1962, James High reported that "every state has some sort of legal requirement for the study of American History and government at some point in the students' school career."[11]

By the time the Commission on the Social Studies published its last volume, the social studies curriculum was in a shambles. A number of surveys discovered that each time the A.H.A., N.E.A., and social science organizations made recommendations, some school district somewhere would implement the ideas. The results were a confusing assortment of school curricula.[12] Between World War I and World War II, approximately one-third of the schools continued to follow the recommendations of the old Committee of Seven; by the 1920s another one-third had reorganized around the suggestions of the 1916 Committee, and another one-third were using almost every possible variation. There were also experiments in "fusion," "integration," and "core" curriculum. This was also the time of the Eight Year Study and experimentation in nonconventional schooling. In spite of this widespread diversity and experimentation—and perhaps because of it—it is now generally considered that this was a "period of chaos" in the social studies.

Growing uneasiness with the "chaotic mess" in the school social studies curriculum, especially during the war years, led a number of researchers to investigate the effects of such programs on the nation's youth. Their findings did little to bolster confidence; rather they created momentum for reform in the social studies.

In 1937, a study of 12,000 high school students found that one percent of the students could not name the President of the United States, only 22 percent knew "Stalin was a dictator," and 27 percent did not associate democracy with majority rule.[13] Also, senior students appeared to be little better informed or "more knowledgeable" than sophomores.

In 1938, the New York Regents conducted a thorough inquiry into the social studies curriculum of that state. In this study, the Regents found that "pupils' attitudes seem to bear little relation to the extent or the program of work in the social studies. . . . The attitudes measured do not seem to be greatly affected by the program of instruction in social studies."[14] While identifying a number of promising practices in the social studies, the inquiry revealed that New York students did not have "outstanding liberal attitudes," were "reluctant to assume responsibility for civic competencies and [had] the general attitude respecting civic participation, let George do it."[15] A number of other studies during this time raised similar concerns.

In 1934, a bombshell rocked the social studies. In a front-page article in the *New York Times* entitled "Ignorance of American History Shown by College Freshmen," Benjamin Fine reported on a test for historical knowledge of 7,000 college freshmen in 36 colleges.[16] Fine reported that 25% of the entering freshmen did not know Lincoln was President during the Civil War, and 30% did not know Wilson was President during World War I.

Almost at once a furor erupted, and it was not long before a villain was dragged out and confronted. It was, of course, the social studies. Fine called for required courses in American History at the college level, since students had not been taught effectively in high school. Allan Nevins, the historian, took up the banner and led the attack on what he called "social slush."[17] At last the die-hard historians had spotted their chance. Writing two months after the report of the *New York Times*, Nevins explained, "The fact is our educational requirements in American History and government have been and are deplorably haphazard, chaotic, and ineffective . . . a little American history is injected into a course of 'social studies' confusedly and half-heartedly . . . in others, it is ignored."[18]

In a later *New York Times* story, it was reported that "By and large . . . the educational world agreed that the results of the survey were appalling." The story concluded with a question: "What do students learn in school anyhow? If the U.S. is fighting for the right to continue its democratic way of life, students should know their history."[19]

Some educators did, however, criticize the *New York Times Test*. Writing in *Social Education*, Erling Hunt attacked what he thought were erroneous assumptions upon which the test was based.[20] Ruth Strang, writing in the *Harvard Educational Review*, called the "irresponsible comments, unproved conclusions and unjustified generalities" of the *Times* history test "shocking" and suggested that it was the test investigators, not the students, who had failed the test.[21]

In 1943, another committee was formed to settle the dispute and put the matter to rest once and for all. The Committee on American History in Schools and Colleges was created, and Edgar Wesley was appointed director. The committee was jointly sponsored by the American Historical Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the National Council for the Social Studies. The committee set out to develop a "Test of Understanding of U.S. History" to determine how much history Americans knew, and, of course, to make recommendations.[22] The sixty-five item multiple-choice test was carefully constructed to test a variety of levels of learning and to cover all areas of United States History. The test was administered to people selected from five groups: (1) high school students (both who had and who had not studied United States History), (2) military students, (3) social studies teachers, (4) those listed in *Who's Who in America*, and (5) a random selection of adults.

Because the test had been so carefully developed and was administered by a committee sponsored by the National Council for the Social Studies, the results were even more devastating than the *New York Times'* conclusions they had set out to examine. The committee concluded:

1. Many well-informed, useful, successful and even distinguished persons cannot answer 75% of the items.
2. Results substantiated that a well-informed person may not have certain facts of history.
3. Very little difference between high school students who had studied American History and those who had not was found.[23]

Wesley concluded with an interpretation that sought a degree of face-saving for those in the social studies:

> Some would be inclined to conclude from the performance of high school students that their instruction is either meager or ineffective. Such a conclusion is not justified . . . the truth, which is even more difficult for the brilliant than for the mediocre to comprehend, is that at any one level much may be taught, less will be learned, and a great deal subsequently forgotten. Educational realism demands that any subject be taught again and again until the cumulative effects become significant and enduring.[24]

The historians probably did not accept Wesley's interpretation but must have enjoyed the conclusions: teach history again and again. The committee report, reflecting the growing hostility of the public to the "slush" of social studies, endorsed a rigid "back to basics" approach of factual historical study—even going so far as to list the topics to be covered and a representative list of dates, events, and important people to be emphasized. All of this smacked a good deal of the old "multiplication tables of history." On a far more positive note, the committee also surveyed school districts throughout the United States to determine the extent of United States history in the social studies curriculum. By reporting that students spent an average of three and one half years in the United States history courses, the committee at least dispelled the criticism that United States history was being minimized or neglected. Three final events of this period need to be noted.

One—the behavior of some captured Americans during the Korean War—proved to be extremely distressing. Following the Korean War, 21 American POWs defected to North Korea. It was also reported that one out of three POWs collaborated in some way with the enemy and that some were cruel to their fellow soldiers. Once again, the eyes of the media turned to schools and especially to the social studies. Members of the National Council for the Social Studies reflected concern. "The ease with which certain American soldiers in the Korean War were converted to the Communists' line not only reflects a basic error in the orientation of the soldiers to their task in this particular war, but perhaps reflects a tragic omission in the educational program of the schools. . . ."[25] Almost immediately, state legislatures began requiring courses in United States government and establishing examinations on the Constitution.

The final knockout blow came in 1957 and set the stage for one of the most comprehensive efforts ever attempted to reform the social studies. First, the Russians launched their Sputnik and, by doing so, created public panic about American technical inferiority. A second event occurred that same year that proved almost as depressing as the fear of having fallen behind the Russians. Two researchers from Purdue University, H. H. Remmers and D. H. Radler, published the Purdue Opinion Poll, one of the largest samples of opinions of school-age students ever conducted. Their findings were devastating to the social studies:[26]

1. Only 35% of the nation's youth believed newspapers should be allowed to print anything they want.
2. 34% believed the government should prohibit some people from making speeches.
3. 26% believed that police should be allowed to search a person's home without a warrant.
4. 25% felt that some groups should not be allowed to hold meetings [. . . and on and on].

This was the last straw.

By the late 1950s, Admiral Rickover, the Council for Basic Education, and a growing number of "men and women on the street" were demanding educational reform. With the wars, the McCarthy hearings, the POW defectors, the Russians—and what some critics considered the dismal track record of the social studies—the country was caught up in a common desire to purge school programs and to make major changes in the curriculum.

Surprisingly, little is known about what was actually occurring in schools during this time, other than the courses that were offered. But regardless of what was in fact occurring, it was commonly accepted that what was happening was attributable to the "fads and frills" of progressive "social studies slush." All of this may have been an absurd misconception. There is strong evidence to suggest that the integrated, reflective inquiry, problems-oriented social studies of John Dewey, the 1916 Committee, the Social Studies Commission, and Hunt and Metcalf existed in social studies methods textbooks and the media, but very rarely in classrooms. Most indications suggest that school programs during this time were still content-centered and expository. Certainly, the textbooks used during this period were content-centered, stressing information rather than skills. Regardless of what was actually occurring, there was widespread agreement on what was *thought* to be occurring—and the public, by and large, did not like it.

Once again, teams were forming to reform the social studies, and it was interesting to see the strange bedfellows that the social studies attracted. During the late 1950s, back-to-basics proponents and patriotic organizations were joined by highly influential historians and social scientists who shared a common distaste for the "social studies." It proved a strong alliance between groups that could not have disagreed more on some issues but which were bound together by a growing concern about Soviet technology, the anti-democratic attitudes of American youth, and the lack of student familiarity with social science and history.

These groups were to usher in the "new" social studies of the 1960s with a determination to replace the "mess" called social studies with the hard data and rigorous methodology of the pure academic disciplines. It was "back to basics" certainly, but it was also back to teaching history and the social sciences for the sake of the disciplines. We would, according to the new prophets, transform our anti-democratic students into junior historians and social scientists; and the contentless, unintellectual, bland social studies would be changed into social science education.

The New Social Studies

By 1960, the verdict was in. Whatever social studies was, or purported to be, it was judged by many to be soft and ineffective, if not outright dangerous. Social studies had been shown to be grossly ineffective in teaching substantive content and in influencing positive attitudes; and it was based on a curriculum that had not changed appreciably in over fifty years. Even the social studies textbooks which schools used were found by scholars to be incorrect, biased, and suffering from serious omissions.[27] For historians and social scientists it was time to move *beyond* the social studies to a higher level of intellectual pursuit; namely, the study of rigorous social science. It was time for social science education.

The developments of the 1960s rested on a small, influential book, *The Process of Education*,[28] written by Jerome Bruner. Bruner argued that "any subject can be taught effectively in some intellectually honest form to any child at any stage of development." The implication of this simple idea was immediately obvious to historians and social scientists. If the structural concepts, generalizations, skills, procedures, and models of the academic disciplines could be taught to school-age children, why then should schools be wasting their time with the "mishmash" called social studies?

The only defensible goal of public education, Bruner explained, was to give students "an understanding of the fundamental structure of whatever subject we choose to teach."[29] Bruner believed that all scholarly disciplines have a structure which, if identified, should serve as the primary goal of instruction in the public schools. And what the curriculum developers of the 1960s were choosing to teach was history and the social sciences.

The historians, social scientists, and educators who set out once again in the 1960s to reform the social studies approached the problem far differently than earlier groups which had attempted to change the field. Realizing the futility of committee recommendations as an effective strategy for change, and understanding the difficulty in changing long established graduation requirements, certification standards, college entrance requirements, and state curriculum laws, they attempted a very different approach to educational reform. This approach centered on curriculum development. The idea was to bring together clusters of educators, psychologists, and social scientists to create instructional materials based on research findings and learning theories, carefully field-test and revise materials, and then disseminate their products for use in *existing* courses in public schools.

Almost overnight, it seemed to many, the social studies became the social sciences. Curriculum Task Forces were formed by the American Economic Association, the Association of American Geographers, the National Council for Geographic Education, the American Anthropological Association, and the American Sociological Association. The American Political Science Association and the American Historical Association likewise became active in this area. The Office of Education launched the movement by funding Project Social Studies, but funds were also available from the National Science Foundation and a number of private sources. Collectively, this represented the most ambitious attempt, in terms of both financial and human resources, ever undertaken to reform the social studies.

Eventually, more than 50 projects were funded to develop curriculum materials for the social studies, and, while some of these projects reflected the trend toward integrating the social studies for the purpose of citizenship education, the vast majority were attempts to teach history and the social sciences as ends in themselves. The American Sociological Association developed a number of "episodes" or short teaching units designed to be "plugged into" a variety of social studies courses. This series, Sociological Resources for the Social Studies, attempted to teach high school students "how the sociologist uses the scientific method of inquiry." In brief, students were being trained to be junior sociologists. The same is true of the Amherst Project Committee on the Study of History, in which historical units were developed that utilized primary historical data and involved students in the process of historiography. A similar effort to teach students the concepts and process of the social sciences can be found in the materials developed by the High School Geography Project of the Association of American Geographers and the Anthropology Curriculum Study Project of the American Anthropological Association.

All of these projects, and many more, produced some of the most interesting, exciting, and creative social studies materials ever developed. The new materials included simulation games, plastic artifacts, data banks, transparencies, slides, tapes, huge four-color pictures—whatever writers, artists, editors, and scholars could create, and limited only by the developers' imagination. These exciting multimedia materials were designed either to be inserted into already existing courses or to be the basis for new curriculum. What pervaded most of these projects was a common desire to teach the structure of the academic disciplines.

Such general agreement of purpose did not necessarily make the task easier. Some social scientists found the ideas of Bruner extremely difficult to operationalize. Scholars found it difficult to agree upon the precise structure of a given discipline. Some even questioned whether history—and other disciplines—indeed provided a structure. Such disagreement led to continuing efforts during the 1960s to identify, describe, and gain consensus on the structure of the disciplines.

One of the most influential articles of the time was "The Concept of the Structure of a Discipline," written by Joseph J. Schwab.[30] Schwab helped to explain the complexities involved in the attempt to identify structure and maintained that "there are real and genuine differences among different bodies of phenomena. . . ."[31] This meant that each of the academic disciplines was different and distinct and would have to be taught separately. This position was developed further in a book by members of the National Council for the Social Studies and the American Council of Learned Societies. It was entitled *The Social Studies and the Social Sciences*.[32]

By far the most important development in transforming social studies into social science, and encouraging the teaching of the structure of the separate academic disciplines, was the creation of the Social Science Education Consortium. Over the years, the Consortium held conferences, published books and monographs, and, in 1970, was funded to develop an ERIC Clearinghouse on Social Studies/Social Science Education. During the 1960s, these efforts were directed at transforming "social studies" into social science education and teaching the various academic disciplines as separate structures. One of the most important publications of the Consortium was *Concepts and Structures in the New Social Studies Curriculum*,[33] in which leading scholars conceptualized the structure of their separate disciplines.

Most scholars agreed that the structure of academic disciplines involved two principal components: the fundamental concepts and generalizations of a discipline; and the methods, procedures, and models necessary to develop and/or revise these fundamentals. This meant that the curriculum materials of the New Social Studies were designed to teach students both the concepts and the methods of inquiry used by historians and social scientists to generate knowledge. Some scholars believed that structure was *only* a process of inquiry consisting of two parts: hypothesis formation and proof process. As Edwin Fenton put it, ". . . a discipline is not so much a body of knowledge as a method of inquiry."[34]

Social science education, as distinct from social studies education, was to focus on teaching the concepts, generalizations, theories, and problems of the social sciences and the methods of inquiry used by scholars. These objectives were to be clearly divided into separate courses or units reflecting the different academic disciplines.

As the 1960s wore on, a visible shift occurred among curriculum developers. The decade had started with each discipline attempting to maintain a clear and separate identity and with the objective of teaching its own disciplinary structure as an end in itself. The decade ended on a far different note. By 1970, most curriculum developers were acknowledging the interrelationship between history and the social sciences and were designing instructional materials that drew concepts from a variety of disciplines. The developers were also coming to realize that social science education could not ignore values and value issues.

By the late 1960s, most curriculum projects had begun softening their approaches by supplementing their "unique discipline" with concepts from related social sciences. Some projects had been designed as interdisciplinary. The Social Studies Curriculum Center at Syracuse identified 34 basic concepts drawn from a number of the social sciences to be taught in the social studies. Others attempted to develop curriculum based on generalizations that were common to a number of social sciences.

There was also an interest in drawing concepts and generalizations from all the social science areas to develop an interdisciplinary structure for the social studies.[35] A careful review of the publications and curriculum materials of the 1960s shows a shift from considering history and the social sciences as separate, distinct disciplines to an emerging interest in seeking common or interdisciplinary relationships. Such a development can be interpreted as another effort at reconciliation with the proponents of citizenship education.

While the concern for using the academic disciplines for the purpose of citizenship education was certainly not the dominant position during the 1960s, it did not go completely ignored. Paul Hanna and his graduate students at Stanford University constructed a social studies curriculum from "basic human activities" to categorize over 3,000 "relevant" generalizations drawn from various social sciences. Later Hanna developed a more complex structure by superimposing his "human activities" over a structure based upon a system similar to Berelson and Steiner's *Inventory of Scientific Findings*.[37]

There were also a few curriculum development projects that reflected the concerns of citizenship education, rather than of social science education. Certainly, one of the most important such projects was at Harvard University, where Donald Oliver, James Shaver, and Fred Newmann developed materials focusing on controversial issues and student decision making.[38]

A small group of scholars was also at work at Indiana University strengthening the concept of inquiry and citizenship education. Several graduate students, including Byron Massialas, C. Benjamin Cox, and Jan Tucker, worked with Shirley Engle and Frederick Smith to complete generic research on inquiry; and over the next years they would publish a number of books supporting the concept of citizenship education as reflective inquiry.[39]

By 1970, there was a growing similarity between those who directed social science projects and those concerned more directly with citizenship education. Educators were acknowledging the interrelationship of history and the social sciences; most were also accepting the place of value education in the school curriculum; and some were coming to accept the goal of citizenship education. Nearly all of the curriculum development projects emphasized the inquiry process, decision making, value questions, and student-oriented problems. Having started as efforts to develop curriculum materials in separate, distinct, academic disciplines that were highly objective, highly conceptual, and value neutral, this shift toward student interest, values, and interrelationships between the disciplines was a significant development for the social studies. This shift can be explained in a number of ways. For ten years, scholars from various social science areas had been working and debating with educators and learning theorists. This decade of dialogue was instrumental in leading to a more serious acceptance of interrelationships. Also, the writings of the educators at Harvard and Indiana may have proved convincing. The shift toward more common understandings of the social studies, however, was too complex to be attributed exclusively to one cause.

The Swing of the Pendulum

If the 1960s dawned with the glow of bright assurance, the decade ended like the dark side of the moon. Opening with a vigorous young President and an altruism reflected by the Peace Corps, the decade began with Americans radiating confidence in themselves and in their role as a world leader. Ten years later, American troops were still in Vietnam and American youth were in the streets. The hope and the vitality of the New Frontier had been riddled by assassins' bullets; and the confidence of the nation seemed to have fallen alongside its slain leaders. It was a time of torment, as bitter and often violent factions clashed against one another. A naive nation seemed stunned, and a jaded cynicism crept in to gnaw away at the American dream. The Civil Rights Movement climaxed with parts of major cities of the country on fire, and with Martin Luther King dead. Many became impatient with the results of the peace movement, and the flower children gave way to armed revolutionaries battling riot police on the streets of Chicago. Even the "silent majority" of mid-America, whose optimism had held out so long, finally began to doubt—perhaps first at Kent State and then at Watergate, as indictments, plea bargaining, and lies in the corridors of power were uncovered. When the Vice-President and later the President resigned, the American dream seemed to be slipping away.

The nation's schools did not escape the torment of the 1960s. Outraged and indignant educational reformers indicted schools by writing books and articles whose titles often employed grim metaphors of death:[40] "Murder in the Classroom," *Our Children are Dying*, *Death at an Early Age*, *Crisis in the Classroom*, *School is Dead*, and others. These works were a litany of the failure of inhumane schools to function effectively. The decade was a time marked by student strikes, free schools, and wars over racial integration. It was a time remembered for unsettling teacher strikes, defeated bond elections, and school bankruptcy.

The curriculum developers and educational reformers of the New Social Studies could not escape as the troubles of the decade swept upon them. First, there was the mixed and often depressing news from the National Assessment of Citizenship Education, and the 1969 survey by Educational Testing, Inc. that showed that the social studies had weathered the frontal assault of the new curriculum developers and remained largely unchanged. The report concluded that the organization of courses did not differ "in any striking way" from that which had been traditional in the United States "for the past twenty-five years."[41] The report went on to say, "At the time of the survey . . . the various new curriculum projects currently being undertaken in the social studies appear to have had little impact on student preparation throughout the country. . . ."[42]

In study after study, scholars reached the same conclusion: that in spite of educators' best efforts and massive funding, the schools had not been improved. A similar body of research was also demonstrating the largely ineffective role of public education in general and the shortcomings of the social studies. However, if the reports were disconcerting, the realization that the change strategies of a decade had proved impotent was even more harrowing. Time after time our leading reform strategists wondered, "We tried it all . . . What do we do now?"[43]

The most persuasive and distressing evidence of impotence was widely reported in the nation's newspapers and magazines and on television networks. Educational testers confirmed what many had suspected—far from improving, schools were actually deteriorating. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the news about declining Scholastic Aptitude Test scores. This test, used for many years by universities as a criterion for student admission, indicated a decline in the scores of American adolescents. At the same time, a subcommittee of the United States Senate found that our nation's schools were spending more to combat violence and vandalism than to purchase textbooks.

Finally, in January 1977, results of the National Assessment found their way into the popular press; and, despite the mixed results of the assessment, a syndicated *New York Times* News Service story by Gene Maeroff was headlined "Seventeen-Year-Olds Rank Low on Political Knowledge Scale." The lead sentence set the tone of the biased story, "Although they are within a year of being eligible to vote, 47% of the country's 17-year-olds do not know such a basic fact as that each state has two United States senators, according to a survey of the National Assessment of Education Programs."[44] An outraged protest once again arose across the country.

The very cry for "back to basics" that had done so much to press the claims of social science education of the 1960s was heard again. What started as a textbook witch hunt in West Virginia became an issue before the committees of the United States Congress, where one of the most creative of new social studies material was attacked: *Man: A Course of Study*. Now the social scientists of the new social studies were forced to do an accounting to their previous supporters.

George Weber, Associate Director of the Council for Basic Education, explained the return to the "back to basics" movement as directly related to Vietnam, Watergate, National Assessment, declining discipline of school children, and an excess of superficial innovations. Weber was especially concerned about the new curriculum in mathematics and social studies:

> When you conclude that a number of these innovations not only didn't deliver what they promised but maybe even left us worse off than we were before, there is a natural tendency for the public to say, "Well, look, we've been conned."[45]

What the "back to basics" movement was calling for was a return to basic facts, knowledge, and understanding; many of its supporters were also interested in conservative political beliefs and patriotism. Even ardent social scientists could not ignore this call for a return to the basics, and citizenship education swung back front and center.

The President-Elect of the National Council for the Social Studies, Howard Mehlinger, acknowledged the revival of citizenship education. He pointed out that while some social studies educators did not see it as "a proper concern . . . [and] that it represented low-order objectives, most other experts agreed that 'citizenship education is what social studies is all about.' "[46] Mehlinger also noted that there was a wide variety of meanings attributed to citizenship education and that most social studies experts would define the term differently than would the back-to-basics proponents.[47]

The Future

In the late 1970s we can identify a number of trends that hint at the direction of social studies in the years ahead. Between 1970 and 1975, some public schools throughout the United States began developing alternative schools—schools designed on the basis of different instructional models and different curricula. The alternative schools were available to students on the basis of free choice; and they tended to be characterized by maximum student decision making, out-of-school experiential learning, and shared curriculum development. Free schools, open schools, schools-without-walls, continuous progress schools, Montessori schools, and others developed out of the assumption that different people learn in different ways.[48]

Today there is also growing interest and support for action learning—for getting students out of classrooms and into real-life learning situations in the community. Programs have been implemented where students can do volunteer service in the community, participate in internships with professionals in the community, and even take sabbatical leaves from high school. Phi Delta Kappa has proposed the concept of the "Walkabout,"[49] high-risk learning experiences designed to help students gain necessary survival skills.

There is also concern for helping youth make the transition to adulthood. A number of reports[50] analyzing secondary education during the early 1970s were published and demonstrated the same assumption: schools were failing to provide students with learning experiences that would assist them to make an effective transition to adulthood. Far from aiding students' growth toward maturity, schools were criticized for isolating them from community activities and older youth and adults. The reports recommended increasing out-of-school learning experiences. They also urged shared decision making, learning experiences that involved the young of different ages, and a greater opportunity for self-selection in learning. Each of these characteristics related directly to the social studies and the goal of citizenship education. If this interest continues, it could have the long-range effect of supporting social participation and experiential learning as a more important, if not major, component of the social studies.

All of these developments—alternative public schools, action learning, and youth transition programs—should not only continue to reinforce the movement to insure that the primary goal of the social studies is citizenship education, but should influence the field toward a particular set of knowledge, skills, values, and participation activities.

Conclusion

This brief survey of the historical development of social studies education in the United States helps to explain why the field is so clouded by ambiguity and confusion. Such a long view helps to identify the customs and usage that have evolved into the basic substance of the social studies. These customs provide one of the most useful approaches to defining the social studies, for they can be categorized into a number of definite traditions. In the next chapter, a conceptual definition of the social studies will be described that is based on the traditions, customs, and usage in the field.

The survey also helps to identify the key issues in the field. These issues have been debated at each stage of development of the social studies, and they will continue to be the focal points of discussion and debate in the future:

1. *Indoctrination.* Even before the concept of social studies was articulated, schools had been busy indoctrinating American youth for well over a hundred years. With a tradition as strong as this, and with powerful support for this goal in the American culture, schools have never moved far from indoctrination. No other single factor has so characterized textbooks, curriculum materials, and classroom instruction. It is also true that no other area has so concerned scholars in education, history, and the social sciences, and motivated them to work to revise the field. The basic and continuing struggle in the social studies is whether cultural values will be transmitted uncritically or will be reflectively examined and critically evaluated. In this regard, the development of reflective thinking, inquiry-oriented instruction, and process learning goals involved attempts to replace expository transmission of knowledge and uncritical inculcation of values. Unfortunately, if studies of textbooks and classroom instruction are accurate, and if the vocal demands of parents and pressure groups are indicative

of the impact textbooks are having on school policy, indoctrination is alive and well and thriving in social studies classes.

2. *Content*. A second controversial issue in the social studies concerns the substantive content of the field. No one has ever been able to define satisfactorily which academic disciplines should be included in the social studies, or whether these areas should be considered as separate and distinct subjects or should be integrated. Historians since the late 1800s have maintained that history is the best, most useful way of integrating knowledge from the social studies and the humanities. Historians today still make that claim. Others, like the 1916 Committee, have used personal and social problems as a means for integrating and selecting appropriate content. This same theme would be later seen in Hunt and Metcalf's "Closed Areas" and Oliver and Shaver's "Controversial Issues." A related approach was developed by Marshall in his focus on the human activities and in the generalizations developed by Paul Hanna.

Even later-day social scientists have sought to develop "basic" concepts, generalizations, and even a structure of the social sciences. While the interest in organizing the social studies around separate subjects is still supported and is the principal method of curriculum organization in public schools, there is emerging agreement among scholars in education, the social sciences, and history that the integration of knowledge is inevitable. By the end of the 1960s, most curriculum development projects were still focusing on one academic discipline but drawing content and concepts from other areas.

The question is no longer whether or not some unifying structure can be developed to integrate knowledge for applicable disciplines, but how these models can be used successfully to reorganize the social studies curriculum in schools.

3. *Practicality of Knowledge*. The issue of whether the social studies should be of practical value or should be studied simply for the sake of developing the "informed" educated person is currently dormant. There seems almost universal agreement that the social studies should serve the practical value of developing functionally effective citizens. Current interest in future studies and the rapid proliferation of knowledge have likewise led to an emphasis on process, rather than on content, since the process skill tends to be of more practical long-range value.

Other arguments, of course, persist. There continues to be disagreement over how the curriculum should be organized and articulated, with some favoring the cyclical approach supported by the 1916 Committee and the later Wesley Committee on American History. Others hold to the "expanding horizon" approach, where students gradually move to higher levels of conceptualization and sophistication. There are still those lobbying for multi-cultural education, global education, and an almost infinite variety of specific topics supported by special interest groups.

As the Bicentennial celebration of the United States drew to a close, the enigma of the social studies still persisted. If anything can be concluded from a survey of the history of the field, it is this: There will be no final agreement regarding what the social studies should be. A hundred years of competition and efforts at compromise only serve to demonstrate that the underlying disagreements are too basic, and the vast interests of the competing groups too pronounced to permit general agreement. As Howard Mehlinger said in 1976, "We are going to find competing ideas of which there are not just two cast, but multiple cast, continuing to set forth alternative approaches to the social studies."[51]

At this particular moment in the social studies, there is agreement and disagreement, consensus and confusion. Most social studies educators currently accept the concept of citizenship education as the primary purpose of the field, and most would even agree to the primary objectives that are requisite to the citizenship education goal: knowledge, skills, values, and performance. Yet, when educators are pushed to explain these core objectives, the 100-year-old contradictions and concerns become once again all too evident. In some ways, this surface agreement must be more difficult on classroom teachers than it was in previous times when competing positions were more clear-cut. For this reason, a number of scholars have attempted to develop conceptual models of the social studies to help sort out, in an orderly fashion, the discontinuities in the field. This has been attempted at various levels of sophistication by Cleo Cherryholmes, Alan Tom, Jan Tucker, Dale Brubaker, and others. All of these efforts have been useful to the field because they have not approached the task of definition from any single point of view, but rather have attempted to conceptualize all aspects of the field into a comprehensive model.

One such model was developed in 1970 by two of the authors of this book.[52] This work grew out of a doctoral dissertation of the third author,[53] and was based on historical traditions in the field. The model was further expanded in 1977, and a teacher checklist was developed to assist social studies educators in identifying their own position.[54] This model is far from the last word in defining the social studies, but it has been developed from a careful analysis of the field and is based on a number of historical traditions. It does not presume to say what the social studies *should be*, but simply attempts to define what the social studies is and has been. But far more important, the model can be used by teachers and scholars to analyze and sort out the conflicts and confusion.

In the next chapter, this model will be briefly described and then used as a theoretical construct to analyze the major goals and primary objectives of the field.

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4. Defining and Interpreting the Social Studies

After our examination of the history of the social studies movement, some may be tempted to abandon the field in disgust. It is easy to see why the social studies has been tagged with such humiliating slogans as "social sludge" or "social stew." From any theoretical perspective, the social studies is a mess.

Yet, just as one is ready to believe that the social studies is a confusing hodgepodge, patterns begin to emerge. It is similar to one of those puzzles found in introductory psychology textbooks: After gazing at length at a hopeless tangle of lines or colors, suddenly the perceptual gears slip into place, and out of the confusion emerge insight and clarity. Out of careful and patient observation of the seemingly incoherent, tangled, and contradictory practices, out of the "sludge" of ambiguity and conflicts, patterns have begun to appear. We can begin to see similarities and repetition instead of debate, conflict, and disagreement. We can begin to develop a definition of the social studies that encompasses the entire field and provides us with a theoretical model that can organize the factions and groups and subgroups into a meaningful structure.

Efforts at Definition

The trouble with most efforts at defining the social studies has been that they have focused on content. These attempts have contributed to unending and almost humorous discussions about what content ought and ought not to be considered social studies. Each of the different factions in the field has demanded different, conflicting content. The problem, of course, is how to decide which content should be included and which should be excluded, to decide what is and what is not the social studies.

The logical resolution of this dilemma is to focus the definition not on content but on instructional goals. Many of the definitions discussed in Chapter One ignored the purpose of the social studies. Wesley's long-used definition made no mention of goals; neither do definitions found in ERIC and in the Charter of the National Council for the Social Studies. Yet some of the professional committees during the last 70 years did attempt to define the goals of the social studies and then to use the goals as a criterion for selecting content. This is what both the 1916

Committee on Social Studies and the Commission on the Social Studies attempted. The problem, however, was a significant one: namely, that statements of goals were often just as contradictory as statements of content.

Toward the end of the 1960s, the authors wondered if it might be possible to develop a definition of the social studies that would account for the agreements and disagreements in the field by trying to sort out and categorize the competing groups in the field on the basis of a combination of factors. Rather than focusing on either content or purposes, the social studies was analyzed on the basis of three characteristics: Purpose, Methods, and Content. These characteristics grew out of the kinds of questions that any teacher or curriculum designer has to ask in order to complete the instructional act.

First, it seems obvious, teachers ask, "What is my purpose?" Teachers ask questions about goals, although they may not use the term "goal" and they often do not agree on the "real" goals. It also seems that, having accepted a goal, teachers also ask, "What methods shall I use?"—that is, teachers obviously translate their purpose or purposes into methodologies. At first we wondered what kind of intelligible statement could be made about the methods that teachers adopted, especially in view of the fact that the word "method" includes everything from a general term like "inquiry" to the use of a filmstrip. Finally, after teachers conceive of a specific *how* or *what*, they think in terms of content. "Content" is no more clear a term than "method," but at least it provides a handle on the problem. So, we began talking, in our own shorthand, about "purpose," "method," and "content." Most teachers, it seemed to us, asked questions about purpose, methods, and content.

By using these three questions, we made an analysis of virtually all of the position papers issued by scholarly societies and teachers' associations in the late nineteenth and throughout the twentieth centuries. To these we added the research of others on such specific classroom behaviors as assignments, discussions, and questions, as well as on content of recent and old textbooks. We also used our own research, making use of some interesting instruments, such as the Flanders Interaction Scale and the Bloom Taxonomies. By the last years of the 1960s, we thought we could see the outlines of three distinct patterns. It also began to appear, even in the face of 70 or so years of internecine strife, that we were able to define three separate, conceptually different traditions, three teaching positions that, if one looked at the data on the basis of purpose, method, and content, seemed to yield three separate, distinct positions. Since evidence of the three positions could be traced historically, they were referred to as Traditions. Identification and description of these three separate Traditions in the field helped lend coherence to the social studies. The field was no longer a "seamless web," but a set of distinct subsystems that could be organized into three definite positions or Traditions.

But the analysis revealed far more than a simple cluster of three distinct subsystems, for the Three Traditions were not complementary areas representing different aspects of the total field. What had been identified were not three subsystems of a single structure, but competing structures. The Three Traditions were actually antagonistic, competitive philosophical systems—each striving to emerge as *the one true* social studies. Like all philosophical debates, many proponents for any one of the Traditions viewed others as ignorant and uninformed. This philosophical splitting of the field resembled a T.V. quiz show with someone asking again and again, "Will the real social studies please stand up?", as any number of people shuffled to their feet, claiming to be the true, authentic social studies.

Areas of Conflict: Three Social Studies Traditions

The analysis of the field based on purpose, method, and content was recently published in a book entitled *The Nature of the Social Studies*. The analysis identified the three basic Traditions in the social studies as: Social Studies Taught as Citizenship Transmission, Social Studies Taught as Social Science,* and Social Studies Taught as Reflective Inquiry. Since a comprehensive discussion of the Traditions has been published elsewhere, only a summary of each position will be presented.

Social Studies as Citizenship Transmission. Clearly the oldest and most frequently employed teaching tradition is Citizenship Transmission. Most teachers in most cultures reflect this approach to the social studies. Almost every study of teacher behavior in the social studies has discovered this approach to teaching—at least in some degree. It is the position most often supported by the general public. It was what Bessie Louise Pierce found in 1936, and what newspaper editorials have typically called for during times of national crisis. It seems to be the approach to social studies supported by groups demanding a return to the basics. The essence of Citizenship Transmission, as the name suggests, is that the adult teachers possess a particular conception of citizenship that they wish all students to share. They use a mixture of techniques to insure that these beliefs are transmitted to their students.

Purpose. The purpose of Citizenship Transmission is that a particular conception of citizenship shall be both learned and believed. Teachers begin with a set of assumptions, beliefs, and expectations about their own society. The teacher knows the important philosophical goals; knows how people ought to relate to each other, what is considered desirable behavior, and what the culture rewards and punishes; and, finally, knows what the culture considers to be the best form of social participation.

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*"Social Science" would be taken to mean that it is inclusive of the word "History."

Collectively, these terms describe what is meant by citizenship. A Citizenship Transmission teacher knows precisely what is required of a good citizen and attempts to transmit it; that is, to teach this conception in such a way that students become loyal believers.

Content. Citizenship Transmission teachers begin with a set of oughts and givens—that is, knowledge, assumptions, and beliefs which are treated as self-evident truths which need to be accepted at face value. Thus, there are (1) items of knowledge, and (2) behavioral guidelines, moral or ethically-toned prescriptions about what members of this society ought and ought not to do.

Over the years, society, in the form of schools, teachers, and curriculum makers, has organized these oughts and givens into the content of teaching. It is this content that constitutes the curriculum, the life and substance of schools from kindergarten through high school and often into higher education.[1] The content finds its way into texts, syllabi, state-mandated guidelines, and the unspoken but nevertheless real body of classroom practices. The unseen and unwritten expectations about what ought to be done in classrooms and playgrounds, and the emphasis on manners, proper procedures, "appropriate" rules, and the like are also the content of Citizenship Transmitters. Teachers who make certain assignments from the text, who conduct recitations over the assignments, and who prepare and give tests are transmitting content. So, too, is the teacher who begins class with the exhortation to "sit up nice and straight," for this is one way of socializing children into respect for authority figures. The teacher who tells toddlers that they would do well to "share" turns on the swing during recess is, likewise, transmitting a value.

Method. Teachers organize the content into method, a set of techniques and strategies[2] organized in a consistent pattern and directed toward a purpose. Ordinarily the most frequently used method involves a mixture of description and persuasion.[3]

The teaching tradition we have labeled Citizenship Transmission is dedicated to transmitting to the young a precisely defined image of society and of citizenship; yet different transmitters entertain different visions of the ideal society. But the essential point is this: the ultimate justification for wanting to transmit such an image is the guarantee of survival of society. Because of this Citizenship Transmission teachers are never neutral vessels filled with objective information. Many of them are, in the nature of things, partisan, biased, and committed. These teachers are committed to a way of believing and acting which is designed to guarantee cultural survival. There is hardly anything more basic than this.

We need to make an observation about the range of Citizenship Transmitters—which we shall develop in a later section. While there are those who belong to the very large majority which is attempting to transmit mainstream values of the culture, there are considerable variations on the theme. Mainstream transmission is in the middle of the political continuum and accepts the core values of our society: self-government, considerable personal freedoms, the necessity for hard work, the values of achievement, tolerance and acceptance of differences, and the right to make a profit from one's labor or investments. However, there are also those who tend to accept not all or most, but a few of the core values and who organize their thinking, lifestyles, and intentions around these. Thus, political radicals, militant ethnic teachers, devout defenders of a rugged individualist economic theory, dedicated environmentalists, and others with a strong commitment also teach social studies. They tend to see their function as transmitting those values which they identify as the best or most important within the culture. To this end, they believe, it is permissible to direct their students' loyalties. In short, while there are doctrinaire teachers transmitting widely accepted core values, there are also many others who depart from the norm, who cherish their visions of a just society and good citizenship, and who have no hesitation in indoctrinating their views.

To recapitulate: most teachers belong to that tradition we call Citizenship Transmission. The essence of this position is the desire to transmit to the young a conception both of an ideal society and of ideal citizenship. For those transmitting a clear view of citizenship, mainstream values tend to be equated with acceptance and internalization of certain norms, beliefs and values, obedience to laws, and participation in approved activities. Different transmitters, however, project different views or conceptions of an ideal society or ideal citizenship. Citizenship Transmitters have organized this central goal into a methodology, a way of organizing and transmitting values, facts, attitudes, beliefs, and the like. They have also established content. Despite their differences in methodology and content, we should like to emphasize the importance of *intent*. It is the intent of transmitters to inculcate in students beliefs and convictions, and the purpose is to raise up a future generation of citizens who will guarantee cultural survival.

Social Studies Taught as Social Science. The Social Science position possesses a distinct tradition, and it is possible to identify particular events, persons, theoretical works, and official statements that have contributed to this tradition. This position was typified by the historians and the scholarly committees of the American Historical Association before 1900; it was later most prominent during the New Social Studies of the 1960s; and it is still actively developed today by the Social Science Education Consortium.

Purpose. The purpose of social studies defined as social science—which we shall simplify and refer to as Social Science—is that young people shall acquire the knowledge, skills, and devices of particular social science disciplines to the end that they become effective as citizens. Let us examine the assumptions underlying this purpose.

It is believed that the various social science disciplines have generated the most fruitful approach to thinking about and perceiving the world as it actually is. From the disciplines have evolved specific techniques that enable the possessor to understand human behavior in all its variety and complexity, without adulterating understanding with ethnocentric biases, local prejudice, or wishful thinking. To the extent that young people learn the ways by which social scientists have gathered knowledge, to that extent will they function more effectively in our society. Thus, the purpose of the Social Science Tradition is the acquisition of the knowledge-gathering skills of social scientists, the ultimate end of which is enhanced citizenship.

Method. The method of social scientists is continuous with and derived from the same knowledge-gathering method of mature inquirers in the field. Social scientists have examined the inquiry techniques of anthropologists, sociologists, archeologists, historians, geographers, economists, psychologists, political scientists, and others and have distilled these techniques into teaching method.

By abstracting out of individual—and sometimes combinations of—social sciences, social scientists have developed a body of concepts, processes, and problems which, collectively, constitute the structure of a given social science discipline. Thus, when we refer to the "structure" of a field, we ordinarily refer to the interesting problems, important hypotheses, time-honored techniques of observing behavior and gathering data on observed behavior, statistical techniques, and verification processes.

Each of the social sciences has such a structure, although the structure of each is unique. Historians are the ones who ask, for instance: What happened? How? Why? To answer these questions, historians have developed a body of intellectual tools which enables them to ask an *intelligible* question; i.e., a fruitful question, one which can be answered and sheds light on important events. They have devised ways of determining whether a given document—say, a letter or diary—is fraudulent or authentic. By the same token, anthropologists have created their body of knowledge-gathering devices. Physical anthropologists are concerned with cultures, people, and events during *prehistory*. They gather artifacts, measure skeletal remains, subject flint tools to exhaustive analysis, and perform comparable activities. Physical anthropologists have developed over the years a certain way of looking at the world, a certain set of assumptions and attitudes which functions like spectacles through which they perceive things and events. It is clear to them that this way of looking at the world is dependable, reliable, and accurate.

In the past, social scientists provided some part of the training of future social studies teachers. In recent years, they have gone beyond this and created training programs, curriculum materials, and detailed guidebooks for teachers to use in transmitting the knowledge-gathering ways of the social science disciplines. They assume—for reasons which will be made clearer in a moment—that young people are perfectly capable of thinking and reasoning in a manner which approximates that of mature inquirers in the field. Further, they assume that in a complex political democracy such as ours, people need all the help they can get in order to understand confusing and emotion-laden issues and events. Social scientists have at hand a method which, experience has shown, can help individuals survive and make complex decisions.

Content. As the description above would suggest, the content of the Social Science position is concerned with specific problems, issues, and topics of the individual social science disciplines. We need to illustrate exactly what we mean by listing some of the Social Science curriculum materials:

- "Black leadership in America" is the name of a sociology curriculum unit.
- A chapter in a civics text by a political scientist is a detailed examination and analysis of how a particular senator makes up his mind to vote on a controversial piece of legislation.
- An ethnographic account of a contemporary Turkish village, in which the inhabitants are making an uneasy transition between traditional, agrarian, preindustrial life to a complex culture, is the concern of an anthropological curriculum unit.
- A comparison between French absolutism and developing English parliamentary government is the subject of a unit in world history.

To summarize, then, we see that the purpose of those who accept the Social Science position is to teach the ways and devices of social scientists, the actual techniques by which scholars gain new knowledge. The method and content are the problems, assumptions, and techniques, reduced to manageable terms for young people. The end or ultimate goal of Social Studies Taught as Social Science is citizenship, with the assumption that such is improved when people have learned how to look at the world through the eyes of social scientists.

Social Studies Taught as Reflective Inquiry. Many years ago, the psychologist and philosopher William James wrote that pragmatism was a new name for an old way of thinking. The authors claim that Reflective Inquiry is a new name for an ancient way of knowing and teaching. Reflective Inquiry is a teaching tradition based upon a philosophical position with roots in the past, roots sufficiently clear to enable us to identify a good many ancient and new theories and practices.

The position was first developed by the N.E.A. Committee on the Social Studies in 1916; had a strong influence on the Report of the

Commission on the Social Studies; and has been developed in recent years by scholars like Hunt and Metcalf, Oliver and Newmann, Shirley Engle, Dale Brubaker, Massialas and Cox, and others.

Purpose. The purpose of Reflective Inquiry is citizenship defined primarily as decision making in a socio-political context. The assumption is that democracy imposes a unique burden; we cannot escape the requirement of making decisions. Sometimes decisions relate to the making of legislation or the selecting of legislators; this is, of course, an inherent part of our government—what it means to live in a self-governing, democratic society.

However, the term "decision making in a socio-political context" is more subtle and complex than simply deciding upon representatives or voting on election day. Seemingly private decisions also take place in a socio-political context. Parents who are thinking about joining an organization dedicated to preserving neighborhood schools and fighting busing are making a decision. A businessperson who thinks about joining a private social club which is a handy place to make new acquaintances and cultivate prospective clients must decide whether it is proper to become a member of an organization which refuses to accept blacks, women, Jews, and others branded as "undesirables." This person is making a decision.

We need to contrast this kind of decision making with what we said about the Social Science position. In this latter tradition, students usually are called upon to make decisions on problems which are preselected for them by the discipline. In Reflective Inquiry, students usually select the problem and make the choice. The requirement for Reflective Inquiry is that the problem they select does—or may or could—concern them. Thus, it would be appropriate for students to discuss issues revolving around the personal ownership of automobiles, for this is a decision that could concern them, particularly in view of the fact that automobiles involve an economic choice: that is, allocation of scarce resources. This is a social problem for it concerns the nation at large. It is also a personal problem, for there often is a choice to be made between a big, expensive, luxurious car with wonderful gadgets that consume gas at an obscene rate or one of the smaller cars that gets spectacular mileage and runs as comfortably as a World War I tank.

Decisions such as these—and one may compile a list of others equally as troublesome—press upon all of us. According to this position, unless an individual has learned ways of analyzing choices and projecting consequences, he or she will probably make decisions on the basis of tradition and habit or impulse. And according to John Dewey, habit, if it is not based on reflection, and impulse are two extremely undependable bases for choice. Given such reasoning, then, Reflective Inquiry teachers maintain that decision making supplies the *raison d'être* for all social studies curricula, from kindergarten through high school and perhaps beyond.

Method. The method of Reflective Inquiry is the process of making decisions and encouraging students to analyze what is involved in a decision. The purpose of the Reflective Inquiry position mandates a methodology in which students are taught all of the skills involved in decision making. While it is not possible to identify or describe all such skills, a partial list would include: literacy, wherein children learn not only the traditional reading skills but that most important and neglected one known as "reading between the lines"; being aware of, locating, and using information from many sources; sensing and identifying problems and learning how to frame hypotheses; selecting and interpreting data; and being able to identify value conflicts and learning how to weigh and assess value claims.

The method of Reflective Inquiry is essentially a 12-year submersion in the process of inquiry, one that involves all of the techniques and strategies that lend themselves to improving the student's ability to ask important questions and find satisfactory answers. Whether the methodology involves role-playing, various forms of grouping, the use of audio-visuals, independent study, discussion, values clarification, or any specific technique, if the teacher's intent is to assist students to "own" problems, to inquire, to make decisions, and to choose intelligently and with forethought as to consequences, then he or she is involved in the process of Reflective Inquiry.

Content. Reflective Inquiry advocates distinguish "method" from "content" only for purposes of conceptual analysis. They do not understand both words as they are usually employed—with method defined as a process and content as a container of things. The two terms are simply different elements of the same process and that process is, as we have said above, the identification of problems and the systematic search for satisfactory answers. If the goal of Reflective Inquiry is to develop the skills of decision making, and if the methodology is designed to implement this goal, content consists of those problems which are selected and studied. We need, however, to distinguish "problem" in this context from other uses of the term. A problem is not one because it is designated as such by teachers. A problem is not necessarily the topics selected by mature inquirers in a social science discipline. A Reflective Inquiry problem is a problem because students identify it as such, although they may have to receive help in doing so.

To return to Dewey's original usage of the term, a problem occurs because something happens that causes an individual to pause and to ask: What is this? or What happened? or Why? or What does this mean? A situation that was clear and settled has, for some reason, become unclear, ambiguous, and unsettled. Something about it cries out for an explanation, and this is what we call a problematic situation or a problem. What are the characteristics of a Reflective Inquiry problem? Reflective Inquiry problems need to possess two essential characteristics. They exist as social problems, objectively identified as such. They also need to be realized in the lives of individuals. This is really not difficult to imagine, since there are no social problems that do not, sooner or later, become individual problems. Thus, for instance, there is an objective social problem *out there* in society called "drug abuse." At the same time, a son or a daughter is quietly hooked on amphetamines, heroin, or alcohol. Or, there is a social problem out there called "violence and aggression," a phenomenon familiar to those who read daily newspaper accounts of muggings, rapes, holdups and murders. At the same time, students in a classroom are involved in a gang rumble. Or, there is a social problem called unemployment, and at the same time individuals cannot decide whether people are unemployed for reasons that are related to technological change and other conditions beyond their control or whether they are simply unmotivated, lazy, and shiftless. The point is that the Reflective Inquiry problem, the content of a Reflective Inquiry class, is (1) a social problem (2) which is realized in the lives of individual students. The Reflective Inquiry problem is a two-pronged affair: it points outward to objective, empirical phenomena, and it points inward to perceived feelings and values and private outlooks. It is both a social and a personal problem.[4]

The origin of these problems is tied in with the concept of needs and interests. Individuals have different values, i.e., different needs. What one really needs, what is found in one's best self-interest, is determined after one engages in a process of inquiry. Need, therefore, is the end product of inquiry; and inquiry involves not only the selection and interpretation of facts, information, and data, but also the assessing and weighing of competing value claims. From a Reflective Inquiry point of view, values, needs, and interests which are so identified are refined through the inquiry process. From the selection of problems will flow all of the subsequent skills, subgoals, testing procedures, activities, strategies, and techniques.

In brief, the purpose of Reflective Inquiry is citizenship defined as a rational and deliberate approach to decision making. The method of Reflective Inquiry is training in the skills of inquiry; that is, the making of choices, of deliberate decisions. The content consists of a selection of those social problems identified by students as their problems. (See Figure 1, p. 67.)

Areas of Agreement: A Different Approach to Defining the Social Studies

While the identification of Three Traditions helped to explain the conflict in the field and to project some order on the social studies, it did not help to provide any unity or cohesiveness. The Three Tradi-

FIGURE 1
THE THREE SOCIAL STUDIES TRADITIONS

	1. Social Studies Taught as Citizenship Transmission	2. Social Studies Taught as Social Science	3. Social Studies Taught as Reflective Inquiry
Purpose	Citizenship is best promoted by inculcating right values as a framework for making decisions.	Citizenship is best promoted by decision making based on mastery of social science concepts, processes, and problems.	Citizenship is best promoted through a process of inquiry in which knowledge is derived from what citizens need to know to make decisions and solve problems.
Method	Transmission: Transmission of concepts and values by such techniques as textbook, recitation, lecture, question and answer sessions, and structured problem-solving exercises.	Discovery: Each of the social sciences has its own method of gathering and verifying knowledge. Students should discover and apply the method that is appropriate to each social science.	Reflective Inquiry: Decision making is structured and disciplined through a reflective inquiry process which aims at identifying problems and responding to conflicts by means of testing insights.
Content	Content is selected by an authority interpreted by the teacher and has the function of illustrating values, beliefs, and attitudes.	Proper content is the structure, concepts, problems, and processes of both the separate and the integrated social science disciplines.	Analysis of individual citizen's values yields needs and interests which, in turn, form the basis for student self-selection of problems. Problems, therefore, constitute the content for reflection.

tions only helped to identify the antagonists in the field. During the last seven years, a more careful investigation into the history of the social studies has led to further insight; namely, that the field is not just randomly changing, but that there appears to be an evolving process of agreement. A careful theoretical description of the customs, traditions, and usage in the field of social studies over time illustrates a definite trend toward areas of agreement between each of the Three Traditions in the field. It is these areas of evolving agreement that provide a foundation for a historical definition of the field of social studies based on customs, traditions, and usage. After decades of disagreement, there is now general agreement that the primary, overriding purpose of the social studies is citizenship education. While this has not always been true, there has been a very definite trend toward accepting citizenship education as the primary instructional goal of the social studies.[5] There is a second important area of agreement. Most individuals in the field now accept that the content of the social studies is not limited to one or a few academic areas. Rather than arguing which area or areas should be included or excluded, they now accept that content will be drawn from all appropriate academic areas—social science, history, the humanities, and other areas concerned with human relationships—and interrelated or integrated for the purpose of citizenship education.

There is also a fairly concrete agreement in the field on the basic objectives required to achieve good citizenship. What objectives do scholars agree that we should teach students in order for students to become good citizens? The first answer is that good citizens must *know* something. Beyond doubt, everyone holds that if one is to function as a citizen, no matter how defined, one must possess knowledge. In general, it appears that the knowledge desired for citizens is derived from a combination of the humanities and the social sciences. Doubtless, too, the knowledge is about what is usually called the "human condition"; i.e., the past, present, and perhaps the future of human beings on this planet.

In addition, many individuals are aware of something called "information-processing skills." Most believe that there are skills involved in acquiring information, and in understanding and evaluating it. Most believe that such skills are somehow linked with important decisions, and most think that such skills ought to be taught to future citizens in our public schools.

Third, related to information-processing skills are the skills involved in examining values, beliefs, and attitudes. How we feel about things, what kinds of loyalties we hold, and what we prize belong to the "domain of values." Most of us believe that not only do we hold values, but that there is also a process of examining values, of learning why and how to care. This, too, many of us seem to believe, ought to be taught in schools.

Finally, we believe that there is some way of applying what we know, what we have learned, and how we feel to actual participatory activities. Civic or social participation is almost regarded as the proof of the pudding; it is that which we see as a key way of testing how effective school learning has been. Most individuals in the field, therefore, feel that good citizens participate in civic life in some way. They believe that such participation can and should be taught in schools.

In short, we can point to four objectives which, if reached, accomplish the overarching goal of citizenship:[6]

1. Knowledge about what is called in the liberal arts tradition "the human condition," including knowledge about the past, present, and future.

2. Skills necessary to process information.
3. Development of values and beliefs.
4. Some way of applying what has been learned in active social participation.

A New Definition. In Chapter One, we explained that any discipline is whatever the scholars in the field say it is. In order for this explanation to be useful in the social studies, it would appear that the field is whatever the scholars in the field *agree* that it is. In the social studies, these areas of agreement have slowly evolved, as we have said, out of a century of controversy and debate. Thus, the areas of agreement we have traced in Chapters Two and Three and summarized in the preceding section define the parameters and meaning of the field of social studies. On the basis of agreement in the field, it is defensible to talk about a field called social studies. And, by concentrating on both the agreement and disagreements in the customs, traditions, and usage in the field, it is possible to arrive at a definition for the social studies that takes account of differences as well as commonalities. This definition, it ought to be emphasized, reflects an accumulation of ideas up to a certain moment in time, and it will surely continue to evolve. At this particular time in the social studies evolution, the field can be defined in the following way:

Definition: **The social studies is an integration of experience and knowledge concerning human relations for the purpose of citizenship education.**[7]

The Goal: Citizenship Education.

Objectives Required To Achieve Effective Citizenship:

1. Knowledge
2. Skills necessary to process information
3. Values and beliefs
4. Social participation

At this point in time, the degree of agreement in the field supports the above definition; i.e., most educators in the field of social studies should be able to accept and support the assumptions found in this definition. And while some might disparage the lack of more comprehensive and sophisticated agreement, one is reminded that these agreements have taken at least 100 years of difficult debate to emerge. As such, they provide the focus for defining the field and unifying the various factions, points of views, and conflicts in the social studies. Still, defining the field on the basis of areas of agreement must not disregard the underlying philosophical disagreements in the social studies. The definition does, however, provide a structure that helps hold together the divergent factions in the field. What we are suggesting is this: that the areas of agreement in the field provide a basis for a comprehensive definition of the social studies; and the Three Traditions provide a framework for organizing and explaining the basic issues of disagreement.

Conclusion

We have maintained that the Three Traditions (Social Studies Taught as Citizenship Transmission, Social Studies Taught as Social Science, and Social Studies Taught as Reflective Inquiry) represent distinct competing philosophical systems, each attempting to establish itself as the principal approach to social studies. Many advocates of each of the Three Traditions have behaved as if these were self-contained systems with comprehensive views of the world and an exclusive and particularistic attitude toward teaching: that is, each tradition has a unique perspective on goals; each defines the goal of social studies in a particular fashion; and each perspective is the most important and valid one. It has followed that all other positions are perceived as confused or inappropriate or indefensible. Further, the philosophical systems of each tradition have built up perspectives on knowledge, values, the processing of information, and a means for participation. This is precisely what all the complexity and the confusion in the field is about.

Yet on the basis of our definition—that the social studies is an integration of experience and knowledge concerning human relations for the purpose of citizenship education—one would expect that there must be areas of agreement among the Three Traditions. Paradoxically, all Three Traditions have gone on record as endorsing citizenship as *the* goal. To this end, all Three Traditions agree that good citizens need to accomplish such objectives as gaining knowledge, acquiring some way of processing new information, learning how to select values, and knowing how to apply knowledge and values in the arena of civic participation.

We have seen that although teachers share the same goal of citizenship, the meaning and interpretation of this term varies. For some, citizenship is equated with internalization of dominant—or at least the best—cultural values. For others, citizenship is defined as decision making in a socio-political context. Note, please, that both use the same language—"citizens" and "citizenship." Assume for a moment that one group of teachers, supported by certain members of the community, builds a social studies curriculum based upon the assumption that what is required is inquiry into conflict and unresolved issues. And now assume that another group of teachers and parents builds a curriculum on the assumption that there is a fixed body of knowledge that requires understanding, that all students need to share the same traditional values and to hold the same loyalties. What we have, then, are groups of individuals working at cross purposes, using the same terms and words, but defending their actions *on radically different philosophical bases.*

The issue is actually more complicated for we have used here only two of the Three Traditions. It is even more complicated because the values emphasized tend to vary from community to community and from state to state. And what makes the issue perhaps most complicated is that there is rarely discussion and analysis of the philosophical differences, for conflict tends to revolve around the immediate confronting issues and to take place in an emotional atmosphere in which opponents are assumed to be ignorant or uninformed.

To summarize, while there are areas of agreement at a very general level, the philosophical conflicts inherent in the Three Traditions continue to create difficult problems for both scholars and teachers. To the extent that areas of agreement are clouded by the "word magic," they only serve to further complicate the social studies, for they tend to camouflage basic conflicts. Before the social studies can be viewed in an orderly, meaningful process, further analysis is necessary.

Footnotes

1. In a very real sense, the transmission of such content begins long before children enter kindergarten. Thus, parents usually function as the original Citizenship Transmitters, since parents are the first and usually most potent mediators of the culture. It is the parent who "teaches" the young in the sense of "socializing" them into the beliefs, values, expectations, practices, and traditions of the culture. Teachers and schools are, both chronologically and in terms of importance, second.

2. The authors, as well as others, have also examined many tapes of televised classroom discussions. By applying the Flanders Interaction Scale, it is possible to discern what we call a 54835 pattern. This is "lecture," "ask question," "student response to question," "response to student," "lecture." From this extremely common practice, we acquired the data on which we based our interpretation.

3. That chapter in the American history textbook called the "Irrepressible Conflict" or the "Irresistible Conflict" is a case in point. This term sounds like nothing more than a description of what happened before the Civil War. Actually, it is more than that, functioning like a historical interpretation. However, so frequently is the term used that most of us believe that the Civil War really *was* inevitable. Another example: The teacher fixes a stern eye on a misbehaving boy and tells him sharply, "John, boys do not pull girls' hair." This is a disguised prescription; it really means "Just don't pull her hair, it is not right to do this." The point is that statements of fact and descriptions are interchangeable with prescriptions, proscriptions, and ethical norms.

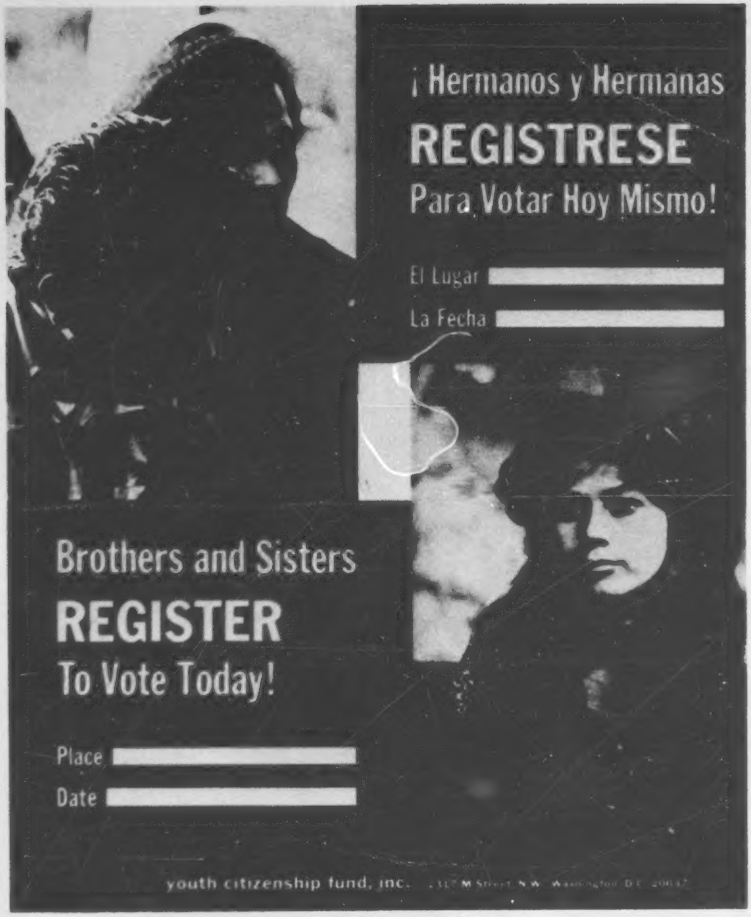
4. So much for an unwise dichotomy known as "*either* a personal *or* a social problem."

5. A number of sources substantiate this point. The one holdout to this agreement has typically been the social scientist. Yet there has been a long history of social scientists who supported citizenship education. This was certainly true of James Harvey Robinson, Charles Beard, and Charles Merriam, to mention only a few. More recently, Bernard Berelson, writing in *The Social Studies and the Social Sciences*, had this to say, "[We must give] high school students the best introduction we can, within the limits of practicality, to the best available knowledge for the social science disciplines *as a means*

to the end of producing responsible citizens," pp. 6–7. By the early 1970s, most social science educators agreed with this position.

6. See Donald Robinson, *Promising Practices in Civic Education* (Washington, D.C., National Council for the Social Studies, 1967), pp. 12–13. See also Daniel Roselle, "Citizenship Goals for a New Age," *Social Education* 30 (October, 1966), pp. 415–420. These are two excellent summaries of the components of good citizenship. More recently these four primary objectives have been identified in the *Social Studies Curriculum Guidelines* (Washington, D.C., National Council for the Social Studies, 1971).

7. While it may be more accurate *at this time* to indicate that agreement in the field is limited to integrating knowledge in history, social sciences, and humanities, there is clear evidence that there is growing support not only for integrating knowledge from all areas concerning human relations (see Shirley Engle's comments later in this book), but also for including out-of-classroom learning experiences as an integral part of the social studies curriculum.



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Place

Date

youth citizenship fund, inc. [illegible] M Street N.W. Washington D.C. [illegible]

"Social participation . . . is regarded as indispensable, a sine qua non of citizenship."

5. Analyzing the Social Studies

We have tried to dramatize the effects of philosophic rivalry by pointing out the conflicts, chaos, and inconsistencies in the field of social studies. However, we have also attempted to impose a degree of order on the field, and to sort out and differentiate among the shifting and ambiguous positions and beliefs. The historical perspective provided an important first step by helping to isolate three distinct philosophical traditions; it also helped to sort out basic areas of agreement. It was these points of agreement that seemed to provide a basis for developing a comprehensive definition of the social studies and to help structure the field. By our organizing the social studies around areas of agreement and also differentiating between various factions, Charles Beard's "seamless web" gave way to more meaningful patterns. Unfortunately, such efforts at organization are only the beginning. If the Three Traditions are simply left as a definitional tool for clarifying the field, the situation would tend to obscure almost as much as it clarifies. Like switching to a more sensitive frequency or a more powerful magnification, the conceptual organization reveals more subtle inconsistencies and ambiguities. Clarification demands further analysis.

While the identification of the areas of agreement and disagreement has helped to explicate and define the social studies, it is still not enough. Distinctions are often so subtle and so clouded in "word magic" that further analysis is needed for an adequate interpretation. Such an analysis can be conducted by examining each of the points of agreement from the vantage point of the Three Traditions; i.e., by analyzing the points of agreement from the points of disagreement. Such an analysis provides a simple matrix of comparison that should be useful in further explicating, defining, and interpreting the field, for it helps to focus the conflict at a more basic level. (See Figure 2, p. 76.)

We have already shown that each of the Three Traditions accepts the primary goal of the social studies as citizenship education and that each also accepts the objectives of knowledge, values, skills, and participation. Yet, since each of the Three Traditions represents distinct philosophical positions, it can be expected that proponents of each would not only entertain different understandings of "good citizen" but would also differ in interpretation of the objectives of knowledge, values, skills, and participation. Such an analysis should provide a new dimension to our understanding of the social studies and help to further sort out and identify the various inconsistencies and conflicts.

FIGURE 2
THE SOCIAL STUDIES

Goal of Citizenship Education				
The Three Traditions of Social Studies Taught As:	Knowledge Objectives	Values Objectives	Skills Objectives	Participation Objectives
Citizenship Transmission				
Social Science				
Reflective Inquiry				

Knowledge Objectives: What Should the Effective Citizen Know?

All education is inseparably bound up in obtaining knowledge. Some have gone so far as to assert that "we are what we know." In a very real sense, who and what we are *is* directly related to what we know. For citizenship education, the questions become: What should students know in order to live effectively in our society? How and upon what basis do we select the knowledge essential for citizenship competence? If our analysis so far has been accurate, we can expect to find three very different answers to these questions.

Citizenship Transmission. You will recall in Chapters Two and Three that often the content of the social studies has been carefully prescribed, even to listing, as the Wesley Committee did in 1944, the names and events believed to be prerequisite to citizenship education. You will also recall the shock of researchers when the various history tests of the 1940s revealed that students did not know their history. It was assumed that youth had to know history in order to be good citizens. The test results signalled something of a national emergency. Certainly, tradition and usage have prescribed a definite body of content for the social studies. Certain topics (Manifest Destiny, Progressive Era, the Judiciary, etc.), certain people (Ben Franklin, Patrick Henry, John Paul Jones, the Presidents, etc.), and certain events (the Constitutional Convention, the Civil War, the Great Depression, etc.) have become so traditional that new textbooks have been criticized and even rejected because certain "accepted" content was not included. For this reason, most textbooks, regardless of how well written and innovative, will inevitably include the content that tradition has indicated must be transmitted to American youth.

This mainstream content has come to be generally accepted by many teachers and parents as essential for citizenship education. A number of analyses of textbooks have defined this content. It seems to involve a peculiar form of historical mythology; e.g., Washington never told a lie, America never started a war and never lost one. It requires a particular interpretation, nationalistic in essence. It also involves deliberate omissions—until recently, women, blacks, Jews, Mexican-Americans, and other minorities were not given proper attention. Perhaps most important, as a number of scholars and committees have noted, textbooks rarely dealt with anything that could be considered problematic or controversial.

The reason for such a circumscribed body of content is this: the actual content itself is not really important. It is only important as it relates to the goal of transmitting uncritically certain desired cultural values. The knowledge considered necessary for good citizenship is a mixture of information and belief, and the essence of the textbook and the syllabus is a desire to pre-commit students to certain cultural values and national loyalties.

Thus, from the standpoint of Citizenship Transmitters, there is a clearly defined body of content that students should learn. This body derives from a particular definition of citizenship and from a conception of an ideal society. Instructional content is whatever promotes citizenship and loyalties to a conception of an ideal society.

Content consists of both affective and cognitive components; that is, concepts, theories, facts, information *and* values, attitudes, and feelings. There is some built-in confusion, for the Citizenship Transmission teacher tends to mix both affective and cognitive content in such a way that what looks like description is often a covert value judgment. Further, it seems clear that it is the affective aspect of the curriculum which is truly important. This judgment seems to be supported by the fact that the informational content tends to be forgotten with extreme rapidity. We are all aware of the phenomenon of the civics students forgetting within weeks whether a judge is appointed or elected or exactly what steps are involved as legislation goes from a bill to a law. In all likelihood, this information was not really expected to be kept forever. In all probability, what is important is the feeling or tone that accompanies the information: after students forget all of Wilson's 14 points, they will likely recall the feeling that Americans are naturally good and beneficent and are motivated by altruism, and that Europeans are constantly entangled in quarrels and tend to take advantage of Americans.

We need to emphasize that there are some important differences in what is considered desirable content. We have discussed mainstream transmission where the idea of content can be appreciated by examining and comparing several textbooks. However, there are other kinds of transmitters; e.g., those who support women's rights, nineteenth-century *laissez faire* economic theory, ethnic militancy, conservation, consumerism, and many others. An equal rights advocate, for instance, who employed Citizenship Transmission would very probably assume that our society, while basically good, is flawed by its persistent denial of opportunities to women and various ethnic minorities. The teacher might conceive of social studies as the proper vehicle for making students appreciative of the accomplishments of historically significant women and minority groups and of the need to redress ancient grievances and restructure our society. By the same token, those who accept a pure form of "rugged individualism" and would like us to return to an essentially nineteenth-century conception of economics would argue that all of our present social problems stem from betrayal of our heritage; i.e., our heritage of nineteenth-century *laissez faire* capitalist theory. The social studies, therefore, would consist of an emphasis on the ways in which such economic theory made us the freest and strongest country in the world. The same may be said of other points of view. The central point, we think, is that if the desire is to inculcate certain values and to instill a certain conception of citizenship, then proper content will flow from this goal.

Social Science. From the point of view of the Social Science position, there is also a body of knowledge which is translated into curriculum content. This knowledge can be found within and perhaps between the various social science disciplines. The task, as we have said, is to identify the important knowledge within the discipline; phrased another way, it is to identify the concepts, problems, processes—i.e., the structure—of the discipline, and then to translate such knowledge into the sort of things that would lead young people into both an appreciation of the discipline and skill in using knowledge of the disciplines.

Specifically, the body of valid knowledge coming from the disciplines can be divided into two categories—data, principles, and assumptions within the discipline *and* the use of such in the process of gaining new knowledge. Thus, in the field of sociology we can identify demographic data, information on social stratification, and overarching principles and generalizations that have been proven useful. In addition, we can also identify how these data, principles, etc., are put to work as a particular scholar identifies a problem, frames a hypothesis, designs data-gathering instruments, and performs all of the other tasks inherent in the knowledge-gaining process. It is, therefore, both the particular data and the way in which they are used which constitute what has been called for some years the "structure of the discipline" of sociology, anthropology, history, political science, and other disciplines.

Social scientists believe that knowledge of basic concepts is accurate, dependable, interesting, and enlightening. Such knowledge is inherently useful. What students see as they look out the window is directly related to what the social scientist is putting on the board, for the key to understanding the problems and complexities of modern life lie within the social science disciplines. The social science disciplines contain tested insights which can be put to the service of any reasonably intelligent person. They can lead not only to a better grasp of the world as it is, but—and this is the payoff—to a better quality of participation in civic life.

While there has been a long history of competition between each of the social sciences, we have explained that most individuals in the field now agree that concepts and process from all of the social sciences are important for citizenship education. To gain conceptual insight into the world around them, most agree that students need to learn the interrelated structures of a number of social sciences.

In brief, then, social science teachers and curriculum-makers select valid concepts, problems, and processes from their disciplines. They organize them into a systematic introduction of social science knowledge, appropriate to students' ages and understanding. Out of the knowledge selected and organized by informed teachers will come, it is hoped, a more enlightened understanding of the world as it is and a better quality of citizenship.

Reflective Inquiry: From the point of view of a Reflective Inquiry advocate, the knowledge that students should learn is far different from that proposed by the other two positions. The knowledge stressed by Reflective Inquiry is not limited to any of the academic disciplines. What the good citizen needs to know is not a body of information, or concepts and structures of disciplines, but a body of personally tested "insight." Insight is a term first suggested by Dewey, later refined by the philosopher E. E. Bayles in the late 1930s, and incorporated into an instructional strategy by Hunt and Metcalf. By "insight" these scholars were referring to a set of concepts, generalizations, and beliefs that had been personally tested through Reflective Inquiry. The child who has learned that hot stoves are to be avoided has learned a more or less reliable insight into the world. As individuals grow older and experience more, both the amount and complexity of their insights increase. Educationally, Reflective Inquirers have stressed that teachers should emphasize experience and personal inquiries which cause students to develop and test their insights and to deepen them. Thus, educationally, the process of Reflective Inquiry leads students to ground their insights more carefully in reason and evidence; inquiry helps students replace their naive and prejudiced perceptions of the world with a body of carefully tested and supported insights into themselves and the world around them.

Students are assisted and encouraged to select knowledge that they need to make a decision, solve a problem, or use in a personal inquiry. In this sense, the academic bodies of knowledge are not to be taught and learned, but used as *data* in student inquiries, decision making, and problem solving. It is the problems out of which arise criteria for selecting relevant data from the social sciences and the humanities. There is no externally existing body of knowledge that must be learned either for its own sake or for use later in life. Rather, knowledge to Reflective Inquiry is what students find out in the resolution of a problem. What the students need to "know" is a body of tested insights that grow out of the problem and resolution of the problem.

Analysis. While most social studies educators have strong convictions about what students need to know in order to be effective citizens, there are dramatic differences in the kind of knowledge deemed important. We have tried to show how the Citizenship Transmitters stress a body of highly descriptive information carefully selected and organized in order to convey uncritically certain values or beliefs. This knowledge often suffers from serious omissions and distortions, but this is not accidental. It is done in an effort to instill values more effectively. In a very different sense, the Social Science educators seek to teach youth familiarity with both the structure and process from the social science disciplines. All of this is taught as a means to an end, which is a more effective, more discriminating citizen. The Reflective Inquirers likewise represent a third definite idea of what students should know in order to be effective citizens. We have tried briefly to explain the concept of "insight" and describe how Reflective Inquirers believe that a body of tested "insights" is essential to effective citizenship.

Skills Objectives: How Should Students Process Knowledge?

During the 1960s, the goal of teaching students inquiry skills was elevated to a primary position alongside goals concerning knowledge and values. The idea was certainly not new. Almost everyone who has ever trafficked in the social studies has held thinking skills in high esteem. But in the 1960s, the emphasis on process and inquiry became of primary instructional importance. So did the "word magic." While everyone talked about the skills of processing information, the words they used to describe this skill were legion: Socratic analysis, inquiry, discovery, process, reflection, critical thinking, and others. If such terminology intimidated the scholars in the field, it must have sent shock waves through the rank and file of the teachers out in the nation's classrooms.

Perhaps our analysis can sort out the various distinctions within this instructional goal.

Citizenship Transmission. To be sure, Citizenship Transmitters have a conception of what it means to "process information." But it is quite clear that what is meant has little to do with the model of "information processing" held by Social Scientists or Reflective Inquirers. First, let us recapitulate the central goal of Citizenship Transmitters.

The Citizenship Transmission teacher attempts to transmit a set of basic information and values that are felt to comprise the core values of the society (or, of course, the core values of a particular subgroup of the pluralistic society). These beliefs then become a standard for evaluating and processing information; i.e., the core values are used as a standard for determining the truthfulness or goodness of actions and events. As such, the core values act as a filter to screen one's perceptions. Put another way, the core values prescribe the limits in which students are allowed to think. Once the student accepts the core values of society, he or she then may critically think, solve problems, and inquire—within carefully established boundaries. Often, the core values and beliefs can also be used to process information in an additional way. The values and beliefs serve to resolve value conflicts, controversial issues, and interpersonal conflict. They serve as a "higher authority" to be called upon for conflict resolution.

Since the students' processing of information occurs only *after* they have learned the core values, there is a delay in critical thinking and decision making. Students can't think about issues *until* they have learned their basic knowledge. How often have teachers told their students, "You have to learn the information before you can think about it"? Before students can process information and think critically, they must learn the basic knowledge and beliefs that set the context of the inquiry and prescribe the limits of inquiry. Thus, students "store up" essential knowledge and learn the core values which set the context of later decision making and inquiry. Only then may they process information.

In the classroom, the Citizenship Transmission teacher presents the students with problems designed for students to practice their processing skills. These problems are typically those that have right answers; e.g., the problems are resolved by the core values that are being transmitted. Thus, such "problems" as economic depression, war, the decline of the family, etc., are studied and explained or resolved on the basis of higher values.

In a sense, then, knowledge and beliefs discipline the mind. This is an ancient theory, and we suggest that Citizenship Transmitters interpret this to mean that while specific details of knowledge may be forgotten, the act of learning renders one later able to make sense out of the world. It prepares a person for citizenship, decision making, and social participation in a democracy. Learning, therefore, provides a reservoir in which the facts and values acquired *now* will become the loyalties and the procedures for processing ideas *later*.

Social Science. From a Social Science point of view, how do students process knowledge? Apparently social scientists make use of a modeling theory in which young people first internalize and then apply the ways of the disciplinarian.

Most of the instructional materials of the New Social Studies of the 1960s were attempts at teaching youth to think and process information in the same way as did the social science scholar. The Amherst materials, which included compilations of primary historical data, were designed to have the student process information in the same way as the historian, i.e., to practice historiography rather than just to "learn" historical knowledge. In several anthropology units, there were "site dig" maps where students could practice drawing inferences from data in the same way as an anthropologist. In sociology units, there were lessons and experiments in group process where students could practice observing and conceptualizing behavior in a way similar to that of the professional sociologist. The materials carefully combined both concepts and processes; i.e., the structural components of a discipline designed to teach students to be junior social scientists.

By the same token, students learn concepts about group behavior from sociologists and about the process of exerting influence from political scientists. Using a combination of both concepts, students apply it to an understanding of what takes place when people band together for the purpose of defeating or enacting legislation. Thus, the emphasis on actual political behavior—regarded as much superior to the traditional study of structure and function that leaves people incapable of understanding events—demonstrates how knowledge of the assumptions and concepts of social scientists can be used.

To describe the procedure briefly, those who accept the Social Science position begin with what they take to be valid curriculum material: the knowledge of the structure of social scientists. Through the use of well designed units, students are exposed to the problems of the social science disciplines. They *discover* how social scientists perceive the world. Through internalizing structure, they can then make sense of the adult world in which they will live, and they will be able both to comprehend better and make superior decisions. The use of knowledge, therefore, has to do with ultimate decision making. The assumption is that by first discovering and then applying the social scientist's structure, people can deal better with the complexities of modern life.

Each of the social sciences, including history, has its own distinctive way of processing information. Citizenship education should prepare the students in the structures of the various social science disciplines so that they can draw upon the "right"—i.e., the most appropriate—set of concepts, structure, and process when faced with a particular problem. From history, students learn historiography—how to validate evidence, how to differentiate between primary and secondary evidence. From sociology, students learn inquiry processes designed for processing information related to observation and group behavior. It is in this way that students become more effective decision makers in society.

Reflective Inquiry. Although some of the same terms used by the Reflective Inquiry advocates are also used by Social Scientists and Citizenship Transmitters, there are important differences in interpretation. For the Reflective Inquiry advocates, meaning is not delayed; meaning is literally wrought, constructed in the present, as an individual attempts to make sense of an unclear and confusing situation. Nor is there a modeling theory. The social sciences, to be sure, provide sources of data and useful ways of interpreting phenomena, but they are sources only.

Thus, to the question "How do students use knowledge?", the answer is: Students use knowledge in the process of inquiry in which they make sense of an unclear, confusing, or troubling situation. This inquiry, first identified by Dewey and later developed by a long line of philosophers and social studies educators, is related directly to "how we think"; i.e., the process of reflective thinking has been suggested by certain scholars as the way the mind works when it begins to think about a problem. It is assumed this "natural process" of thinking can be perfected, or at least improved in school settings. Students can be taught to define problems, develop hypotheses, gather data, draw conclusions, and refine and redefine problems.

Inquiry, therefore, refers to a process which begins with a problem, a troubling and unclear situation. The "unclear" situation may involve missing information, or it may involve so much information that an individual does not know what he or she ought to feel, does not know what is best to esteem. Most typically, inquiry—especially inquiry in the social studies—involves both facts and values. We have identified most social problems because we do not know what is the case, what is true, or what the facts are; nor do we know what ought to be preferred. Inquiry, therefore, is merely a shorthand term, a too brief word for a process that involves an active, consecutive, and careful search for answers that are designed to fulfill an important human need.

Analysis. Although we have met no social studies teacher who does not believe that an important part of citizenship involves processing information, it seems clear that there are conflicting ideas about what "processing information" means. We have examined the differences among the Three Traditions. Let us now look carefully at implications for classroom teaching, assignments, discussion, and related practices.

It is clearly the case that social studies teachers agree that students should gain experience processing knowledge by examining relevant problems and learning how to make sense of and use information.

However, if our analysis is correct, there is no substantial agreement among the Traditions as to (1) what is considered a problem, (2) what makes a problem relevant, and (3) what it means to "make sense of information." Thus, once again, we find identical language disguising very different philosophical systems.

From the standpoint of Citizenship Transmission, the problem to be studied is the one identified by text and teacher as a problem. Thus, students are frequently asked, "What was the problem faced by Roosevelt in 1933 (or Lincoln in 1860, or Hamilton in 1790)?" These problems are then studied; i.e., the teacher asks a series of questions, receives fairly brief answers, and then provides an interpretation of the event and evaluates its significance. Of course, before the problem was discussed in class, students were assigned a chapter in a textbook. They will then be tested on the problem, with high marks going to those who most accurately catch the teacher's point of view. The problem clearly is relevant, if by relevant we mean (1) related to a body of traditional belief and interpretation, and (2) related to similar social problems that will crop up in the future. In each of the problems studied, the teachers use the core values they are transmitting to prescribe the boundaries of the discussion or to resolve different dilemmas.

By the same token, those who accept the Social Science position will employ relevant problems, but their relevance is to the discipline. The problem is abstracted out of the discipline, and the assumption is that specific concepts will link the problem to a structure of knowledge and that knowledge in the process will be directly useful to similar events that, in fact, are now taking place in society.

For Reflective Inquirers a "relevant" problem is different in still another way. A Reflective Inquiry problem is one identified by students. The meaning is the meaning students impose on data. To be relevant means to be relevant to a student's perceived needs and interests. Processing knowledge is what the student does to make sense of a confused situation. For the Reflective Inquiry advocate, teaching consists of getting students to apply the inquiry process, identify problems, and search for answers that are more or less satisfactory. Much of what takes place in the classroom is discussion, not exposition, and not recitation. Data come not only from the textbook, but from any source that can be found. The most important process is the clarification of meaning; the assumption is that it is the students who ultimately clarify. Although it is hoped that students will use information in the future, the purpose of the information involves its use in the present.

It may be clear that no social studies teacher disagrees on the importance of processing information, dealing with problems, and studying issues. It may also be clear that the very different classroom practices which can be observed flow from radically different assumptions about what these terms mean.

Values: What Should Students Value?

Values—and especially the issues of indoctrination—continue to permeate most conflicts, indeed most discussions about the social studies. Issues and value conflicts, furthermore, seem never to be resolved. Although a given conflict about what "ought" to be, what children should value, and what goals they should cherish may die down, it invariably arises at a later time under only slightly changed circumstances. A summary of the basic areas of disagreement may help to clarify this topic.

Citizenship Transmission. Citizenship Transmitters, as we have seen, are most concerned with values. The internalization of right belief and value is almost the essence of this position. Whether we are talking about mainstream transmission or one of the many variants, Citizenship Transmitters begin with the assumption that there is an essential body of value and belief, that this body derives from our country's traditions, and that students ought to accept the best of the tradition. The values which make up this tradition would not have survived had they not been good, had they not made our people stronger, freer, and more compassionate. The so-called "core" (or to use our term, mainstream) values—which include respect for individual differences, tolerance, personal freedom, willingness to allow risk-taking entrepreneurs to profit from their risk, hard work, education, respect for the family, the valuing of achievement over birth—are not merely good because someone *thinks* they are. They *are* good. And they demand our allegiance.

Given such assumptions, the teaching of values is essentially a process in which students come to prefer what they ought to prefer, to prize what should be prized, and to esteem what is considered most estimable. The core values inhere in citizenship, and the school's task is to transmit them in such a way that the mature populace can repose loyalty in them. This last sentence may suggest why the authors chose the term Citizenship Transmission to describe this position.

To answer the question "How are values learned?", we should recapitulate at least one point. The feeling, the affect which accompanies the cognitive, factual information, contains the values to be transmitted. As we have seen, there is a feeling or tone which attends the description of structure and function of government. There is a feeling which accompanies the often-told story of Woodrow Wilson and the 14 points. It would not be too much to claim that there are built-in illustrators in the content of all the social studies. These illustrators point up and exemplify the moral lessons. Students may not remember the details of, say, America's entry into World War I, but the moral lesson is not lost on them: Americans do not start wars, but they will repond to unprovoked aggression—such as the sinking of the *Lusitania*—and when they do respond, the attacking nation will lose.[1]

The students having learned the desirable cultural values, the assumption is that they will apply them. Please recall that different Transmitters emphasize a different selection of values, although each tends to identify his or her values with the dominant culture. Thus, while most could be expected to endorse a mixture of democracy and capitalism with a heavy emphasis on achievement and the Protestant work ethic, we have already pointed to many variations. A teacher at a free school who identified with, say, cooperative values, environmentalism, and consumerism would probably wish to leave his or her students with these values, hoping that they would use them as a standard for the rest of their lives.

In brief, then, Citizenship Transmitters assume the existence of a body of culturally derived values which emerge from our country's history. They assume that students should learn these values, which are taught sometimes directly and sometimes obliquely and with a heavy emphasis on the feeling of the content. These values are taught so as to be "applied"; i.e., used as a measuring device, as a standard, during the rest of a student's life.

Social Science. In the past it was difficult to point to a well thought-out, carefully defined position on values for those who take the Social Science approach. Social scientists have tended to cling to a "value free" or perhaps a "value neutral" position in which values were assumed to be in the realm of personal preference. It was assumed that the task of the social scientist was to teach a cognitive process, leaving values and preferences to the individual. However, this position has yielded to one which takes cognizance of values and attempts to deal with them. In recent years, those taking the Social Science position have increasingly incorporated values and value-laden issues into their curriculum materials.

Social scientists assume that there is a highest value—and that is the knowledge inherent in the disciplines. Stated briefly, it is better to know than not to know, to possess knowledge than to be ignorant. And, since they assume that the most valuable knowledge resides in the discipline, it is good for young people to possess such knowledge. There is, as we have seen, a long history of this position. Even before the social sciences appeared on the scene, it was generally believed that liberal arts subjects possessed an inherent value, that regardless of whether a subject was practically useful, its ultimate utility lay in broadening outlooks and widening experiences. This argument, with some modifications, is used today by social scientists.

It is also clear that as one pursues any given topic in the social sciences, one arrives at philosophical and value-laden considerations. To follow up evolutionary theory in anthropology leaves one with some broad philosophical issues: for example, a preference for an orderly world with predictable laws over a world without causation, without law, without regularity. To carry on an extended study of political behavior in our society may cause one to ask such questions as: What political behaviors are ethical, which promote democracy, and which are authoritarian and even despotic? The point is that any given subject or problem in the social sciences will, when explored deeply enough, lead one to value issues.

However, the most comprehensive statement that can be made of the Social Science position—inferred partly from curricular materials and partly from observing demonstrations—is that value conflicts are useful as springboards to social science inquiry. That is, one may begin with a social problem or with a value conflict for purposes of leading students into the analytic ways of the discipline. We need an example, and the problem of poverty as viewed by sociologists, economists, and political scientists will serve.

It would be entirely permissible, as a teaching strategy, to begin with a value issue such as poverty. One can help students identify the problem of poverty as social scientists define the term; i.e., a departure from an assumed norm or ideal and perceived as such by a large number of people. Students may soon observe that some people are poor, often hungry, without adequate shelter or medical treatment, and politically powerless. From such a perception, each of the disciplinarians would go his or her separate way. Sociologists would probably wish to focus on such questions as: "Is there a culture of poverty? Is there a difference between transient and structural poverty?" Political scientists would probably wish to emphasize the fact that the poor tend not to have either political skills or access to power. Economists might ask such questions as: "What is an economic definition of poverty?" and "How is income distribution a way of dealing with poverty?"

The point we are making is that while poverty exists as a social problem, while it evokes strong feelings and attitudes, and while it incorporates some powerful value conflicts, the teaching concern of the individuals who take the Social Science position is not the philosophical or value components. Different disciplinarians, as we have seen, may use poverty as an opening gambit for the purpose of introducing students to an analysis of the concerns, interests, and analytical strategies peculiar to their discipline.

Thus, it would be fair to say that values are a part of the Social Science approach to teaching. A social scientist may begin with value issues but would probably move immediately into the analytical procedures of the discipline. Students are expected to deal with value issues, but essentially as private matters and not as inherently important disciplinary concerns.

Reflective Inquiry. The most comprehensive statement we can make about Reflective Inquiry—essentially only a variation on what we have said under the previous two categories—is that values are an inherent part of the inquiry process. Values are not to be indoctrinated, and are not something one does *after* he or she has learned the analytic ways of a discipline. Values are as much a part of the total inquiry process as are matters of fact. They are as inherently important as data, information, and cognitive processes. Why do Reflective Inquirers take this position?

Their first assumption is that in our changing, pluralistic society, without any official creed or formal ideology, without any prescribed set of beliefs, it is not possible to insist upon the ultimate goodness or rightness of a given value position. While Reflective Inquirers would agree in part with the Citizenship Transmitters that there is a historical tradition from which are derived values, they would argue that it is more correct to say that there are historical *traditions*. They would insist that throughout our history, values have clashed and competed with each other and that the "rights," "important customs," and "historical traditions" do not form a coherent, homogeneous body, but rather tend much of the time to be inconsistent and conflictual. To decide what is good is usually to express a preference for a value out of a field of often conflicting values. The "value" of preserving our environment is—and has been—in conflict with the "need" to extract minerals and generate energy for our homes and our industries. The "right" of entrepreneurs to operate without government harassment and interference—what is usually meant by the term "*laissez faire* economics"—is and has been in conflict with the "right" of the people not to eat tainted meat, not to be endangered by poisonous drugs, and not to be fleeced by unscrupulous stock salespeople. What one eventually ought to prefer is a matter to be decided by the process of inquiry.

Thus, values are not taken as givens. The only given—i.e., the only absolute value, as we have said—is the inquiry process itself and the fair, scrupulously honest procedures that are supposedly built into inquiry. Values are the matrix out of which our needs and interests spring, and it is out of conflicting needs and interests that many of our social problems arise. It is because as a nation we value free speech that we have been plagued by the constant conflict involved in censorship of pornography on the one hand and the right of free expression on the other. It is because we believe that everyone in our society ought to enjoy some minimum of material comforts and because we also believe that you only get what you work for that we have constantly experienced what we are pleased to call "the welfare problem."

There is a position, held by some Reflective Inquirers, that one must begin with certain values which function as givens, after which inquiry may then take place. Sometimes "respect for human dignity" is considered such a given. However, to the extent that this is believed, the authors argue, the position is much closer to Citizenship Transmission.

For the Reflective Inquirer, the answer to the question "What ought students value?" is "The process of evaluation; i.e., the inquiry process." If we have any faith in inquiry, we should have confidence in the ability of students to use the process of rational decision making to choose what they ought to prefer.

Analysis. There are, we believe, important differences within the Three Traditions as to the nature and function of values in a social studies curriculum. For Citizenship Transmitters there are values which inhere in our historical tradition; teaching students to become good citizens is largely a matter of teaching them to repose loyalty in those values which have proven their worth in the 200 years of our nation's existence. From the standpoint of the Social Science position, values do exist, and they function as components in the phenomena that social scientists examine. But, for their purposes, values issues are essentially outside and beyond the jurisdictional area of objective social science disciplinarians. They are ultimately matters of preference; they belong to the realm of the private individual. From the standpoint of the Reflective Inquiry tradition, values are as inextricably bound up with inquiry as are concepts, facts, theories, or anything called "cognitive." Values are not assumed as given—except for the value of inquiry itself—but are rather the end product of an inquiry process.

From the point of view of the Citizenship Transmission position, there is a hierarchy of values. Some values are, as we have seen, givens. Some are optional, in the sense that they are lower on the hierarchy. It is legitimate for individuals to differ; and it is expected that individuals will select what they come to prefer. There are, therefore, baseline values, which are fundamental and which ought to be accepted. From the Reflective Inquiry position, no value is taken to be an absolute—please note the phrase "taken to be," for without it the statement would itself be an absolute.

From the standpoint of Citizenship Transmission, the transmission of values, beliefs, and loyalties is the essence of teaching. To this end, it is permissible to use content as illustrators, models, and exemplars. This is what explains why George Washington and Abraham Lincoln are taught as moral exemplars; they illustrate the values of self-sacrifice, discipline, achievement, and compassion. From the framework of the Social Science position, it is permissible at times to investigate values and value issues, but these are essentially adjuncts to the main task, which is an understanding of concepts and the structure of the discipline.

Participation:
How Should Students Participate in Community Life?

Social participation, as with the three other purposes, is regarded as indispensable, a *sine qua non* of citizenship. It would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to find any substantial body of opinion that holds that citizenship requirements are fulfilled without active participation in some sense. As we shall see in a moment, "social participation" ranges from vicarious experience to direct confrontation and involvement with the real issues, conflicts, and events in the real world.

Citizenship Transmitters. For mainstream transmitters, social participation seems to have essentially two referents. There is a sense in which participation means the kind of practices and actions that are almost traditionally identified as civic involvement. We refer to obeying laws, voting, running for office, participating in one of the recognized political parties, canvassing, collecting political contributions, and joining civic clubs, unions, or special interest groups. Participation is considered to occur within the established structures of citizen involvement. Thus, persons who joined a trade union, participated in a drive to collect money for school band uniforms, or represented the community at a Chamber of Commerce meeting would be considered as participating in culturally approved citizenship activities.

Of all of the activities, however, voting would appear to be the most important. Voting has acquired over the years an almost hallowed status. Individuals are urged to cast their ballots, even when they may, in fact, understand little of the issues. We decry something called "political apathy," and we take polls to find out what percentage of voters actually cast a ballot in the last election.

On the other hand, for some Citizenship Transmitters there are other forms of participation, often called "activism," a word which seems to suggest ambiguous meanings. Ethnic militants might approve of direct, perhaps even violent, confrontations with authorities; consumer groups might endorse a boycott. Some activities might well be regarded with suspicion by some—e.g., picketing a detested political figure—and we can point to other activities—e.g., the Weathermen's smashing windows and rioting in downtown Chicago in 1968—which are generally regarded as unacceptable and illegal. The point is that there is a wide range of activities, with perhaps voting regarded as the most fundamental, that can be considered valid social or civic participation. There is, however, another sense in which Citizenship Transmitters employ the term "social participation."

It appears that social participation is regarded as taking place when students are learning in the classroom. The act of learning about and appreciating certain historical events, important institutions, and exemplary persons is apparently regarded as a form of social participation. To learn of the problems faced by a Lincoln, to appreciate the durability of our institutions, to develop loyalties to our social values are forms of participation, albeit vicarious, in a process. To be sure, one is not called upon to solve Lincoln's problems; but this is not the point. The problems which students are exposed to are illustrative, they are exemplary, they typify both problems and their solutions.

Those who understand this are engaged in a form of civic participation.

From the Citizenship Transmission point of view, social or civic participation embraces a range of activities which demonstrate that the person has acquired the right loyalties and beliefs; and, while direct involvement in traditional civic activities is often considered desirable participation, there is a sense in which learning itself is also participation.

There are those, of course, who argue that the primary act of social participation taught in mainstream Citizenship Transmission classrooms is obedience. Jonathan Kozol, in his recent book, *The Night Is Dark and I Am Far from Home*, develops a devastating attack on public schools in general and the social studies in particular for teaching students that "things really aren't too bad," that things are "getting better" or "progressing," that students should be obedient and docile and let the normal structures of civic life run their course and ultimately things will get better. Twelve years of the "hidden curriculum" take their toll on students, and they may leave school anesthetized to the tragedies around them, with the consequence that they may then "blindly" respect and obey their leaders.

Social Science. To those who accept the Social Science position, civic participation involves coming to understand social phenomena and making decisions. The key to understanding this process involves a grasp of what is meant, first, by *discovery*, and second, by *transference*.

There is a sense, as we have seen, in which the "utility" of the discipline does not go beyond expanding one's intellectual horizons, developing appreciations and deepening experience. There is another sense, built into the Social Science position, in which learning about the social scientific disciplines is directly useful in understanding social phenomena and making decisions. It has been said that what goes on the social scientist's chalkboard can also be seen out the classroom window. This is another way of saying that the phenomena studied in a class are directly related to phenomena occurring out there in what we often call "the real world." What is involved is, first, a process of discovery, and, second, of appreciation.

There are, as we have seen, concepts, assumptions, and knowledge-gathering procedures within each of the disciplines. Much Social Science curriculum materials is designed to help students discover the most appropriate concepts, assumptions, and data-gathering devices. To the extent that students have discovered and internalized the components of social science concepts and structure, to that extent can they apply them in the real world. Let us look at a few examples.

Students studying the by now controversial *Man: A Course of Study* (MACOS) materials on anthropology learn something about how Eskimo hunting teams kill seals and divide them almost ritualistically for distribution. Everything about the hunt, from organization to final distribution, develops the notion of "social cohesion." Those who understand what it means for a group to be cohesive also understand other forms of cohesion at work in this society. They can also see what happens when group cohesion is lost; and, since loss of social cohesion probably lies at the root of that social pathology called "anomie" and "alienation," those who have studied MACOS are in a good position to understand a contemporary and very disturbing social problem. They are, it follows, also in a good position to make intelligent decisions that may be required to deal with alienation.

Those who study the economic concept known as "externalities will need to examine, for instance, a phenomenon whereby factories emit pollution, the pollution is breathed in, and in time it creates lung damage and respiratory illnesses of different kinds. These respiratory illnesses result in direct medical costs to the sick person and also loss of work time. In the past, these costs were not considered. In recent years, economists have become aware of them and are trying to measure them, just as they can measure the cost of raw materials and capital goods. Thus, an understanding of "external costs," or "externalities," the unanticipated cost to the public at large, is an extremely valuable concept. Students who understand this concept have essentially discovered an important part of the structure of economic theory. They are in a better position to identify a real social problem, and thus can apply what they have learned to understanding their social world and making decisions about it.

It is, according to one prominent educator, not possible to predict even remotely what kinds of social roles future actors—i.e., adult citizens—will play when they mature. What can be done, however, is to anticipate some of the range of social roles and prepare students to play them as citizens. This involves the identification of many concepts and skills, as we have already seen. The task of the school is to prepare students to play as wide a range of roles as is possible, with the expectation that precisely what roles will be chosen will be up to the individual.

The essence of social participation according to the Social Science position, it would appear, is that discovery of the concepts, processes, and other aspects of individual social science disciplines will prepare students for a wide variety of decision making and participatory activities. Complex and otherwise baffling social problems and issues can yield, at least in part, to the insights of social sciences, thereby rendering this process the best preparation for mature adult social participation.

Reflective Inquiry. Although social participation is as significant a concept to Reflective Inquirers as to the other two social studies Traditions, and although there has been a good deal written about the subject during this century, there is a fairly wide range of belief about what constitutes civic or social participation.

The oldest position probably derives from John Dewey, who was concerned with schools as potential laboratories for democracy. The idea was to re-create in schools miniatures of the conditions that prevailed in the outside world—with the understanding that the schools would not include some of the grosser imperfections. Teachers, Dewey held, would attempt to set up in schools analogues of the kinds of experiences—especially those involving self-government and decision making—that one would expect to find outside. Students would undergo certain experiences and, in the process of actively analyzing what had taken place, would increase their capacity for growth.[2] Thus, in Dewey's mind, not only ought students to undergo an experience, they ought to evaluate the meaning of the experience. This was the major function of teachers and schools.

Social studies educators since that time have insisted on both components of experiencing an event and active consideration of the meaning of that event. To that end, classrooms were seen as designed primarily to get students to analyze, reflect, and evaluate, with the assumption that it is the problematic nature of their experiences that would generate the motivation for the thinking, which Dewey called "reflection" and which the authors call "Reflective Inquiry."

In the years since Dewey introduced the term, there have tended to be two different emphases. Some social studies educators see the classroom as devoted primarily to analysis and evaluation, operating on the assumption that doing so provides a vicarious experience which is sufficient alone. However, a growing number of others—Dale Brubaker, Anna Ochoa, Fred Newmann, and others—insist that students require active participation in real and substantial events outside the school. Thus, classroom evaluation is not sufficient. Students need to enter the community and take part in activities directly; and to this end we can find much written on community surveys and data gathering, student participation in elections, involvement in ecological and environmental campaigns, and the like.

From a slightly different standpoint, Hunt and Metcalf would probably argue that students come to schools with a large reservoir of experiences. They point out that, rather than direct involvement in participatory activities, the classroom should function to help students examine or inquire into those experiences which tend to be off limits to them. As explained in an earlier chapter, Hunt and Metcalf believe that there are "closed areas," behaviors in our culture which have been affected by extremely rapid technological change.

Reflective Inquirers have often been criticized because there is no component for student participation. Recent efforts at defining the social studies have even added "social action" as a separate category in the field.[3] Yet such a criticism represents a misunderstanding of Reflective Inquiry. True inquiry, as Dewey defined it, grows out of internalized felt problems that create cognitive dissonance.

Inquiry is precipitated because the individual simply cannot tolerate the internal feeling of uneasiness. In this sense, at the first step of Reflective Inquiry, the student is actively participating because something in his or her environment has unsettled and motivated him or her to action. The first step in this action, at least from the point of view of the Reflective Inquirer, is rational reflection, the sensing and then defining of a problem. As the individual concludes Reflective Inquiry and gains a degree of insight into the troubling issue, a final conclusion will be made to become socially active or passive. No particular social action is encouraged, other than considering whether or not to become actively involved. Thus a student, just like any adult, may choose not to become actively involved. Likewise, if students choose active social participation, they are not limited by any "acceptable" participation prescription.

Analysis. It ought to be clear that the term "social or civic participation" is capable of many interpretations. Participation can refer to involvement in civic and community affairs; for example, voting, joining civic clubs, and participating in a political party. It can refer to a process of internalizing certain desirable values and incorporating certain loyalties. It can refer to any and all kinds of decision making that individuals are called upon to make. Citizenship Transmitters tend to focus more on traditionally acceptable forms of participation; while the proponents of Social Science and Reflective Inquiry accept these traditional forms of participation, they usually go beyond them.

The function of social studies classrooms in dealing with social participation is equally broad. For some, the classroom can improve social participation by getting students to reflect on the nature and meaning of their experiences. For others, students should concentrate on those problems which grow out of the "closed areas" in our society. For others, the problems to be studied are those which come to us from our traditions and the history of our people. For still others, the problems which students study should come primarily from the scholarly disciplines, on the assumption that these problems will have direct relationship and transference to the real world.

A cynic might conclude, "Well, you pay your money and you take your choice." This might be all right, too, if indeed we knew that there was choice involved. In reality, the term "social participation" has been perceived as a self-evident good with *everybody* knowing precisely what was meant by the term. Everybody does not.

Indeed, we must conclude by asserting that any term that refers simultaneously to not making a fuss in the cafeteria lunch line *and* to contemplating the problems of Alexander Hamilton *and* to evaluating sensitive cultural behavior needs a good deal of explanation. This discussion is a small step in that direction.

Conclusion

In the preceding pages, we have attempted to bring a degree of order and understanding to the "seamless web" of ambiguity which permeates the social studies. We have attempted this first through a historical survey of the field. The historical survey helped to identify areas of agreement and disagreement in the social studies and to provide a foundation for a new definition of the social studies and a different approach to analyzing the field. At one level, we have done little more than a basic sorting exercise, using three philosophical positions as categories to organize the field. For us, these categories, or as we have called them "Traditions," seem so basic and so evident that after careful study, they seem to leap out at you. Others, of course, have disagreed. Some feel the Traditions are too simplistic—far too pedestrian for scholarly consideration. Others have argued that the Three Traditions are artificial, that in real life such philosophical consistency is rarely found. Teachers, curriculum developers, and teacher educators are eclectic, the argument goes, and they use variations and combinations of goals and approaches that cut across the Three Traditions. Many scholars and teachers maintain that they do not "fit" neatly into any one of the Three Traditions. Criticism may well be justified, but it may also serve only to dramatize just how hopelessly ambiguous and inconsistent the field really is. It can only be said that there is much evidence that supports the Three Traditions; and that when an attitudinal instrument based on the Three Traditions was administered to hundreds of social studies teachers, it was found that most tended to cluster with some overlap around the Three Traditions, with a fourth group reflecting a truly eclectic, though inconsistent, position.[4]

Others have criticized the Three Traditions as being too narrow and have expanded the Traditions to four (Alan Tom) or five (Dale Brubaker). If such further explication and specification is useful, then it is applauded. The authors feel that, regardless how many specific categories (or factions) one sees in the field, what is important is not how many categories one perceives in the field, but that all analyses are carefully grounded in philosophy, learning theory, and usage. The Three Traditions are certainly only one way of organizing the field; but it is a way that is simple, useful, and supported by evidence.

Still others have criticized the Three Traditions for being divisive and disruptive to the field. Teachers in the social studies need cohesion and solidity, it is argued, so why do we need to emphasize differences? This objection, we think, is probably based upon a mistaken assumption. It assumes that the more people know about each other, the less they can cooperate. We, of course, disagree. We believe that teachers ought to be able to identify their own interests and their own assumptions. Indeed, when individuals can identify what they are saying and what others are saying, there may well be a better climate for cooperation. It is simply not true that ecumenical dialogue among members of different religions has led to co-optation of one by the other, nor has it led to increased hostility and friction. In many cases, it has led to an identification of common interest and shared values and has thereby pointed the way for cooperation in those areas where cooperation can take place. That is exactly why we have attempted to identify those areas where there seems to be the most agreement.

Significant change, we think, does not occur unless and until the individuals concerned have a means of communicating with each other—communicating not just their similarities, but their philosophical differences. Communication has something to do with "shared meaning." Stated simply, and as a conclusion, our conviction is that the Three Traditions hypothesis provides one way of looking at complex and confusing phenomena, classifying them in intelligible terms, and providing individuals with shared referents.

Closely related to the "divisiveness" argument is a concern by some that the Three Traditions serve only to legitimize unacceptable conceptions of the social studies. Many of those who have taken issue with the Three Traditions have done so on this basis, that we have not supported the *one* true position on what the social studies *ought to be*. Of course, the proponents of what the social studies "ought to be" disagree, just as scholars have done for the last 100 years. While we have often feared that too much of our own bias has crept in (or perhaps galloped in), we have nonetheless tried to lay out a careful description of what the social studies *is*, rather than what it ought to be. In doing so, it seems to us that we have more clearly explicated the *possible* choices, the possible directions of change.

There is yet one other important aspect of our work that we hope will prove useful to the field. This relates to a dual concern of ours, the semantic confusion of terms that we have called "word magic" and the tendency in the field to consider social studies to be additive; i.e., that any idea, regardless how incoherent or unrelated to establishing instructional goals, can be tacked on to what has previously been accumulated. Let us share a few recent examples of what we are talking about.

Focusing on civic courses, one article has recently suggested that students need to be taught this subject as a participatory learning experience. It suggested that all civic courses must be "coherent," "systematic," "appropriate for students," "teachable," and "focused."[5] There are probably no social studies teachers now alive who do not believe that their courses are "participatory learning experiences." We doubt that any teacher has ever breathed who did not think that his or her curriculum was "coherent" and "teachable." The problem, again, is the same confusing "word magic" that we have tried to identify throughout this book.

By the same token, another scholar recently stated that "What we seek in the attempt to define citizenship education is that body of knowledge which constitutes the common denominator of conscious participation."[6] This author argues that the common knowledge includes "global education," "moral development," "law-related community," "social science community," and "America's cultural diversity."

The problem with these statements—and the thousands of others like them that have promised to come to grips with social studies education—is not merely that they are rhetoric. It is not that they are reduced to some variation on themes that have been raked over for more than 100 years. It is not that they are phrased at such a high level of abstraction that they mean whatever anyone wants them to mean. They are all this, to be sure, but more. Statements, observations, and formulations such as these add little to teachers' understanding and nothing to their teaching skills, because they are invariably based on the wrong premises.

They spring from an assumption, deeply rooted in American history, that it really does not make any difference whether ideas are coherent, consistent, or systematic in any sense. These ideas are premised on the assumption that the social studies is additive, and that, like grandmother's recipe for lentil soup ("a little pinch of this" and "just a little bit of that"), it is possible to create a curriculum by simply adding. The social studies curriculum is an addition of "civics" to "global education"; and to this we join "values clarification," perhaps a touch of "law related" studies, and maybe even the history of the State of Indiana.

By more clearly defining the field of the social studies, and distinguishing more carefully between factions, it is hoped that teachers and scholars can develop more precise insights into their profession and their individual relationships to it.

There are problems with our definition and the related Three Traditions that we have not been able to explore adequately. For lack of space, we have generally not dealt with issues of moral development, value analysis, and the increasing interest of some in non-rational philosophy. We have also ignored some of the most recent research in the field relating to political socialization and political attitudes and the possible effect of this research on definitions of citizenship education.

We do, however, believe that the areas of agreement that we have defined, the Three Traditions, and the preceding analysis of the field provide an adequate and accurate—though, perhaps, not the only—way of looking at the social studies at this particular time. Having said this, we also acknowledge that the most important insight we have gained from our research is that the social studies is not a static structure. It is alive, constantly changing and evolving. What we have attempted to do is to catch the field at this moment in time, to share historically how we have come to be here, and to attempt to sort out the complexities.

We also hope this small volume signals a call to the profession to address itself to the serious business of its identity. The social studies has been misused and humiliated too long. The time is long since past when any and everything can be dumped into the social studies. We must continue to explicate what the profession of social studies is and what it can be. Anything less will only serve to sink us once again into the "seamless web" of ambiguity and confusion that has characterized so much of the field.

Footnotes

1. The recent scholarship in which the captain of the U-Boat that sank the *Lusitania* recalls that the ship exploded in a cataclysm, as if it were loaded with explosives, will probably not soon find its way into most of our textbooks. It is obviously difficult to account for the fact in the captain's statement—if indeed it is a fact—for it suggests that the *Lusitania* was not on a strictly peaceful mission.

2. This is, very briefly, a summary of Dewey's notion of growth and experience. It hardly does justice to a concept that occupied Dewey most of his mature life.

3. Of the contemporary social studies educators, one of the earliest to emphasize the importance of social action was Dale Brubaker. For a concise treatment of social action as a significant part of the social studies movement, see: Dale L. Brubaker, Lawrence H. Simon, Jo Watts Williams, "A Conceptual Framework for Social Studies Curriculum and Instruction," *Social Education* 41 (March, 1977) pp. 201–205.

4. Research based upon the instrument has been reported in the following studies: James Barth and William Norris, "Where Have All the Inquirers Gone?", *Indiana Social Studies Quarterly*, 24 (Autumn, 1976), p. 26. James Barth and William Norris, "A Cross-Cultural Study of Nigerian and U.S. Teacher Candidates' Preference and Styles of Learning in Social Studies," *Indiana Social Studies Quarterly*, 24 (Autumn, 1976), p. 33. James Barth and William Norris, "A Study Examining the Preferences of Teacher Candidates from Different Cultures Toward Social Studies," *Nigerian Education Forum*, 2 (December, 1976). See also Barr, Barth, and Shermis, *The Nature of the Social Studies*, Chapter Five.

5. Arthur Foshay and William Burton, "Citizenship as the Aim of the Social Studies," *Theory and Research in Social Education*, IV (December, 1976), p. 1.

6. Logan H. Sallada, Policy Advisor to the U.S. Commissioner of Education, "Key Issues and Problems in Developing New National Policy Directions in Citizenship Education," *Social Science Education Consortium Newsletter* 28 (December, 1976).

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Five Reactors' Comments on Robert D. Barr, James L. Barth and S. Samuel Shermis, DEFINING THE SOCIAL STUDIES

COMMENTS OF DALE L. BRUBAKER

Professors Barr, Barth, and Shermis are to be congratulated for their scholarly inquiry. *Defining the Social Studies* is thorough, well-documented, well-written, and provocative. The timeliness of their monograph prompts me to comment on the nature of the scholarship they have been involved in for the past two decades.

One of the most important contributions some social scientists made to social studies education during the late fifties and sixties was to legitimize conceptual model building as an avenue of research. The exploratory nature of this kind of research produced some anxiety in many of us, for we were reluctant to leave the comfort and security of quantitative studies and a historiography that emphasized the uniqueness of events. Our dilemma was further complicated by the fact that honorific systems in universities worked against scholars who moved away from traditionally acceptable research approaches.

We had our own rewards, however. Conceptual model building afforded us the opportunity to integrate teaching, research, development, and writing, with each activity serving as a springboard for other activities. How different this was from the traditional view that teaching and research are necessarily discrete! We also discovered a certain excitement in feeling that we were creating our own frameworks, with no single framework considered definitive. In short, we learned to view model building as a heuristic process that would stimulate ourselves and others to make sense of social studies curriculum and instruction. All that the community of scholars engaged in this process required of each other was the desire to learn from each other through systematic scholarship.

Defining the Social Studies is clearly in the tradition of conceptual model building and, given the previously cited positive characteristics of this tradition, should stimulate a good deal of discussion among those interested in social studies education.

The authors of *Defining the Social Studies* conclude their monograph by saying that the number of categories or camps within a conceptual framework is less important than the process of systematically building a framework. With this in mind, the authors' contribution will be discussed from a broad perspective, rather than others nit-picking with them over particular items within their framework.

The Barr-Barth-Shermis work avoids many of the pitfalls that act as barriers for some social studies educators. First, their model clearly recognizes the importance of social studies ends, which is to say that the authors believe that our vitality for engagement in social studies

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education is as great as our intentionality.[1] Coupled with this view is the assumption that each person interested in social studies education makes choices about these ends, with such choices constituting a commitment to a philosophical tradition. This is true whether or not the person is aware of the commitment. (To get an accurate profile of this commitment, one would have to focus on the educator's self-perception, statement of intentions, and behavior in a particular setting.[2]) The authors have adopted research techniques, such as interaction analysis, which have enabled them to study the "hidden curriculum" and the emerging curriculum as opposed to the predetermined curriculum.

A second pitfall avoided by Professors Barr, Barth, and Shermis is that of thinking only in linear terms. As social studies educators, we have been influenced to believe that there is an established sequence for involvement in social studies curriculum and instruction: first, select one's objectives; then choose appropriate methods and materials; and finally, evaluate students' progress toward objectives. Although the authors identify three elements in their model (purpose, method, and content), there is no set linear sequence, thus allowing for constant interaction between elements. If one were to draw a figure in order to illustrate the changing nature of a social studies setting, it would be appropriate to designate its parameters by using an amoeba.

With reference to the three elements, the authors argue that social studies educators have too often focused on content. They might have added that this approach to social studies had an implicit agenda with regard to purpose and method, an agenda we still observe in most social studies settings: the purpose is to cover the material, the method of instruction that most efficiently covers the material should be chosen, and the evaluation method that best measures student progress toward covering the material should be used.

Because of the provocative contribution of *Defining the Social Studies*, it seems appropriate to conclude these remarks with suggestions for further research.

1. How can researchers team with each other in order to integrate various research approaches and stimulate each other to continue researching? Conceptual model building can be complemented with many other kinds of research and vice versa. Case study approaches of a participant(s) in a setting, surveys, experimental studies, and philosophical and historical inquiries can build on each other so that we acquire a more informed profile of present practices.[3] This information will also be of value for program development.

2. What are the implications of research discussed above for preservice and inservice education for teachers of the social studies? For example, the Morrissett research indicates that social studies department chairpersons tend to favor the history camp, whereas college teachers

(probably methods class teachers), senior high teachers, junior high teachers, consultants, and supervisors gave higher value to critical thinking and social science camps.[4] Should inservice education seminars in social studies be structured in different ways to squarely face differences between chairpersons and non-chairpersons? We may assume that different subgroups will react to the Barr-Barth-Shermis model in different ways, but we need cooperative research in order to find out whether or not this is true. This also raises the question as to how students would respond to the categories within a framework. This brief discussion of the need for research in social studies teacher education demonstrates the tremendous potential for cooperative efforts.

3. Finally, how can research speak to us in order to help us continue to revise instructional approaches—including materials acquisition and evaluation—to social studies in our schools? How will students, teachers, aides, administrators, and others be influenced by our research efforts?

Professors Barr, Barth, and Shermis have certainly caught us up in the process of thinking about social studies curriculum and instruction—past, present, and future. I predict that their book will be widely used, and that social studies may never be quite the same because of it.

Footnotes

[1] Paul Tillich argued that "man's vitality is as great as his intentionality. . . ." Paul Tillich, *The Courage To Be* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952), pp. 81–82.

[2] The discrepancy between social studies educators' perceptions of their own commitments compared to other social studies educators' commitments is clearly documented in Irving Morrissett's "Curriculum Information Network Sixth Report: Preferred Approaches to the Teaching of Social Studies," *Social Education* 41 (March, 1977), pp. 206–209. A framework for understanding the Morrissett survey accompanies his article: See Dale L. Brubaker, Lawrence H. Simon, and Jo Watts Williams, "A Conceptual Framework for Social Studies Curriculum and Instruction," *Social Education* 41 (March, 1977), pp. 201–205. A model for understanding particular instructional settings can be found in Dale L. Brubaker, "Social Studies and the Creation of Settings," Publication #7 of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro Humanistic Education Project (1976).

[3] Cooperation among *Social Education* Editor Daniel Roselle, Irving Morrissett, Dale Brubaker, Lawrence Simon, and Jo Watts Williams, cited in footnote two, serves as an example.

[4] Morrissett, *op. cit.*, pp. 207–209.

COMMENTS OF SHIRLEY H. ENGLE

Basic to this work by Barr, Barth, and Shermis is the premise that philosophically divergent but historically important traditions of the social studies exhibit sufficient cohesiveness to serve the development of a single, unifying definition of the field. The hope is held out that a useful measure of agreement among philosophies can be reached with regard to what the social studies are, and that this can spearhead an effort to move the social studies forward and out of its present state of doldrums.

Despite the authors' constrained optimism at the end of their book that such a purpose had indeed been achieved, they have failed to demonstrate convincingly that the unity they sought is either feasible or desirable. Rather, they have succeeded, to an impressive degree (and possibly inadvertently), to clarify the lines of battle between the competing philosophies of the social studies and to point up the irreconcilable nature of the issues which separate them. This is a major contribution of the work even though it contributes nothing toward the goal of homogenization of the philosophic traditions in question. The book has clarified the grounds for choice between philosophies and has made more evident that the problem in the social studies is not so much the achievement of a common definition as it is the choosing of a definition which best serves our purposes. The best interests of the social studies may not be met by arriving at an uneasy compromise between philosophies that tend to close and control thinking and philosophies that throw the whole world open to thought and the possibilities of improving the human condition via rational decision making. I therefore am inclined to applaud what seems to me to be the failure of the authors of this book to discover a real synthesis among competing traditions.

The major contribution of this book is the careful and very insightful analysis of the alternative traditions treated—that is, "citizenship transmission," "social science," and "reflective inquiry." The search design utilized, summarized in Table 2, as applied by the authors, has produced information of inestimable value in sorting out thinking concerning the proper nature and goals of the social studies. The care with which they have carried out this part of their work sets their book apart from other similar undertakings.

However, from this critic's point of view, it is a pity that the authors chose not to include in their analysis other traditions which have had or are beginning to have profound influence on social education in the United States. One that comes immediately to mind is the venerable tradition in this country of "social criticism." This tradition, with us

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from colonial days, has involved the efforts of thousands of our greatest intellectuals and has included the publication of many of our most respected magazines and books. Less tradition bound than the citizenship transmitters and more humanistic and freewheeling than those who take the social science position, it has had an influence on civic education in the country which may well rival the total effort of formal education. It is not, therefore, to be ignored.

Another tradition of more recent vintage but of rapidly growing importance can be laid at the feet of the dissenters within and outside the fold of the social sciences, individuals who insist that social science is so enslaved by its positivistic and behavioristic stance that it serves no useful purpose in the advancement of human causes and human welfare. I refer to the growing movement which makes policy studies the central thrust of social science, and which includes in the ranks of its devotees many well known social scientists, few of whom, if any, are mentioned in the footnotes of this book. While attempting to retain as much of the rigor of social science as possible, "policy studies" addresses itself, unashamedly, to human problems. The effort is to bring the social sciences into the arena of public policy and private living, where issues over values and emerging human purposes must be dealt with as reasonably as possible.

If one looks from this broadened perspective at all of the philosophic positions enumerated above, as well as at others that might have been included, one is struck by the fact that "transmission" and "social science positivism" are conservative (i.e., preserving the status quo) theories, or, as Gunnar Myrdal said years ago, "do nothing about it theories." In stark contrast, "inquiry theory," "social criticism," and "policy studies" are dynamic theories. They assume change and reform as being the natural proclivity of humankind. They assume that freedom of thought and democratic governance are the desirable milieu of men and women. This represents a chasm in thought that neither can nor should be bridged.

May I end my comments on an historical note? The history of the social studies, as is clearly demonstrated by Chapters Two and Three of this book, is almost hopelessly incomprehensible if one starts with the premise that there exists a thread of unity—call it citizenship education or what you will—running throughout, from which the ultimate social studies will emerge.

The more probable truth is that such a unifying thread is a fiction—it does not exist. Instead, we in the social studies have experienced, and experience to this very day, a struggle between contending and irreconcilable factions, one or another of which has, from time to time, depending on the flow of civic affairs, enjoyed the ascendancy over the others, but none of which has ever given up the battle or emerged as total victor. The conception of transmission was there all along and certainly still is. The social science disciplinarians were there all along, sometimes diverted temporarily while they fought among themselves, but emerging with enough unity in later years to stiffly challenge the others. Reflective inquiry was there all along and still is despite the numerous shifts in what it is called.

Sometimes the struggle was carried on between the contenders merely by their ignoring one another. Sometimes there was an overt battle with victory seemingly near at hand for one or another contender. For example, in the 1960s, it appeared that the disciplinarians were on the verge of victory, only to lose out in the end. Frequently, school people ignored either one or all of the contenders and did about as they pleased or, more likely, just as they had done before. The myth that we were ever developing evenly toward a consensus goal was just that: a myth.

Had the authors really succeeded in coming up with the definition of the social studies to stand henceforth for all times, it is possible that they would have committed irreparable harm to the future of the social studies. They would have made oversimple, and therefore deceiving, what is complex and diverse. They might have lulled the profession into intellectual sleep.

The contribution of the authors of this book is that they have made clear that we must choose with our eyes open. There is only one definition for the social studies, if we can but discover it, that is consonant with freedom and democracy. We are still free to choose either the slavery of citizenship transmission or of scientific behaviorism, but if we go on choosing these for long, we may lose the right to choose altogether.

COMMENTS OF JEAN FAIR

Social studies education has indeed been ill-defined over the years. It needs clearer conceptual frameworks. It is ready for their formulation.

Over the last fifteen years or so, a comparatively large number of curricular projects have translated principles of curriculum into actual social studies programs. Although funds have dwindled and proliferation has abated, much remains. The new curricular programs, though still not commonplace, are in use in some schools. Under the stringent requirements of actual program construction and the pressures of getting acceptance in the field, exuberant claims were scaled down and the basic goal of citizenship education was made plain. Moreover, the development of contrasting programs and their tryouts have contributed working models which can be studied seriously now. It is time to take stock.

This Bulletin presents three ideal types of social studies education, ideal not necessarily in the sense of "good," but in the sense of internally consistent, ideational constructs. I might have liked to see a fourth one that took individual self-fulfillment as its prime value, although such a position is talked about more than practiced. Still, for the purpose of provoking thought, it may be wise to stay with three. They do well enough at crystallizing positions embodied less purely in programs, materials, discussions, and practice. The constructs are fairly stated in admirably neutral terms.

Examining the multitude of particulars in the field by means of purpose, content, and method permits characterization of three positions. Identifying a prime purpose is useful. Analyzing consequent interrelations among the four components of knowledge, skills, values, and participation gives a grounding for commonality and differentiation. Using these four components, stated in their most widely disseminated form in the NCSS *Social Studies Curriculum Guidelines*, ties the *Guidelines* into this analysis. All in all, the analytical framework facilitates further study.

The three constructs are not yet ideal in the sense that social studies educators, especially those most concerned with theory, can confidently choose the one best. None is entirely adequate. (My own sympathies, however, lie with a revised version of reflective inquiry.) The positions achieve internal consistency without handling all the matters for which constructs must account and without a path to amelioration of basic conflicts. What the Bulletin authors give us is a clarification of the field at present, not relief from further search. Still, clarification itself is an achievement.

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Social studies education as conceived in these positions, for example, is a K-12 affair. Comparatively little thought has gone to the relation of higher education courses in social sciences and history—which frequently omit methods of inquiry in the disciplines—to theory in social studies education. Nor has much attention been given to a rationale for exclusion, although a case might be argued for differentiated goals. A similar statement might be made of pre-service, in-service, and even doctoral offerings in professional social studies education.

Probably more important is that none of the three positions does well at distinguishing what is more, or less, appropriate for young people of different ages or, if you will, stages of development. Especially in the elementary grades, children are learning cultural values, the rules of the game, and the social processes which are inherently value laden. Without such learning, children can hardly become persons at all, while society becomes a mere aggregation. Schools are willy-nilly socializing agencies; it is difficult to conceive a social studies education, formal or informal, which does not transmit cultural values to the young. Any expectation that children, especially in the elementary grades, will engage in constant reflective inquiry upon cultural values learned outside of school requires an indefensible dichotomy between in-school and out of school. An expectation that children will engage themselves solely in the social sciences and history sweeps the issue of transmitting cultural values under the rug. I do not mean to suggest that some reflective inquiry and some pursuit of the social sciences/history are inappropriate in the elementary grades, but only that transmitting will loom large. However, adolescents normally question values. To avoid reflection will be a vain attempt. Since cognitive powers have grown, the social sciences/history need not maintain their elementary school role. Cultural values will still be transmitted formally and informally. The point is not that any one of the three positions is right for one age over another, but that each assumes that age or development makes no difference.

None of the positions accounts easily for adapting social studies education to sub-cultural groups. The circumstances of life for the poor, for minority groups, and for others—individual variations granted—often make for too little of the sense of efficacy required by the reflective inquiry defined here, or for identification with the system incorporated in the disciplines. Nor does the position of citizenship transmission come to grips with the meaning of cultural pluralism.

None of the formulations does well at relating social studies education to other areas of learning, in school or out. Trite but true, life is not divided into subject areas, even though attention to organized areas is necessary for study. If compartmentalization or inconsistency creates stumbling blocks, so also does losing the power of the scholarly disciplines. Integration of experience is at best a foggy area in education.

A problem such as the shortage of present energy sources is hard to deal with through the formulations of citizenship transmission or social science/history, and difficult even for that of reflective inquiry in an atmosphere of disillusionment about the worth of knowledge. Studies of the influence of the "hidden" or "informal" curriculum, better called in our area "democratization of the schools," highlight common disparities between the position of citizenship transmission and the institutional practices of schools. Similar statements could be made for the other two positions. The relation of social studies education to in-school reading or out-of-school television, to cite another example, is also unclear.

Notwithstanding their limitations, the three positions do make sense of many programs, instructional materials, practices, and views presently common in the field. Each of these constructs does explain some kind of social studies education. The positions do so, however, by assigning sole primacy to transmitting values considered essential for citizenship, or to developing competence in the social science/history disciplines, or to engaging in reflective inquiry. Once a single purpose governs, the four components of knowledge, skills, values, and social participation are made to fall into consistent place. The effort in formulation is toward developing coherent theory. The effort deserves respect. Just any collection of knowledge, skills, values, and participation is not as good as components thoughtfully related. Eclecticism is often hodgepodge, a word that aptly describes the social studies education in some classrooms.

Nevertheless, the choice before us need not, in the course of time, be one of these three positions or hodgepodge. None of the prime purposes need be sole governor. Any one purpose, any of the prime values, may be qualified. The search for better theory ought to consider how to get the most of these basic values with the least damage to any one of them. Qualifying for particular circumstances still requires a rationale.

The three formulations are not wholly discrete. Citizenship transmission for an open society which respects human dignity and aims for social justice has a good deal in common with reflective inquiry and surely needs the strength of the social sciences. Certainly, citizenship for an open society will differ from that in a closed society, or a simple society, or one dominated by an elite or by the need for mobilization. Even among relative values, some are better than others. The search for better theory must consider which values are to be transmitted, and to what extent and how firmly, either because careful thought upholds their intrinsic worth or because a viable society needs continuity as well as change.

The social sciences/history are not entirely value-free. They respond to social conditions believed to be worth understanding, and at times they move far ahead of public recognition of social problems. Their methods of building knowledge have much in common with the processes of reflective inquiry. Theories in the disciplines change. Theory from one field is used to explain events in another. Since it is clearly impossible for all students to develop competence in all the social disciplines, some selection is necessary. Even if the disciplines are regarded as a pool of resources, only some students develop greater competence in each or a few fields, and some criteria for selection must be considered. Such criteria need not be out of touch with transmitting cultural values or reflective inquiry.

At least some cultural values are bound to be transmitted by schools and other social institutions. Were such not the case, reflective inquiry would become mere intellectual exercise, a matter of playing games. The processes of reflective inquiry, taken seriously, require systematic study of at least some aspects of what is available in the disciplines. Indeed, social problems may be identified by the disciplines before they are perceived as real by students. Students do not necessarily perceive relations between social and personal problems. Moreover, the search for better theory might prowl around reflective inquiry to see how much is feasible and what is to be reflected upon.

Emphasizing some basic purpose(s) over others and selecting for appropriateness and commonalities require fresh sets of relations among the components of knowledge, skills, values, and participation, or other components. More comprehensive theory will be developed.

The three constructs presented in this Bulletin bring order to an otherwise amorphous field. Each achieves consistency, in its own way. But however much consistency is to be desired, it is not the same as worth. I am not ready yet for wholehearted support of any one of them.

As clarifying constructs, these positions push theory ahead. The wealth of programs developed in the last years has still to be widely used and tested, while more will be developed. From research on the actual workings of a variety of more explicitly designed curricular programs and from discussions among scholars, teachers, and the public at large will come deeper insights and better melds. It is too soon for fixed and solid positions, even when due respect is accorded to these delineations of the field at present. At this stage no one ought to be too sure of being right.

COMMENTS OF SUZANNE W. HELBURN

The authors of this thought-provoking book have identified, chronicled, and analyzed three distinct traditions in social studies education: the Citizenship Transmission tradition, which represents the main influence on actual social studies teaching; the Social Science tradition, which both academic historians and social scientists have advocated periodically as their elitist alternative to the Transmission tradition; and the Reflective Inquiry tradition, also representing a reform of the Transmission tradition, which claims Dewey as its father and with which most social studies educator-reformers identify. I have no real quarrel with the analysis: the identification of the three traditions, the description of the areas of agreement shared by the traditions, and the different approaches taken to achieve agreed-upon educational objectives. The analyses of differences present a characterization of each tradition, inductively derived from studying the continuum of actual approaches. No doubt these summaries seem more like caricatures to practitioners who realize that their work could be "callously" thrown into a category which does not accurately or fairly describe their curriculum. But vanity aside, and recognizing the limitations of category systems, it seems quite useful to posit these three model traditions in social studies education if we use the models to discuss competing traditions, rather than to categorize curricula. In my later comments I will point out some disagreements with the model descriptions, but these are minor, possibly representing my own bias: I certainly have experienced the competition among the three groups and welcome this careful delineation of the similarities and differences.

The book has restimulated an old concern which I've experienced ever since I joined the social studies reform community in the early 1960s as an upstart Social Science type—an overwhelming need to be understood and accepted, and to join social science and social studies approaches. Social studies and social science educators have always seemed to me to be engaging in an unnecessary and harmful competition. I hope to show that while there are some philosophic differences in the two positions, these two traditions are not logically inconsistent or contradictory. In fact, when properly interpreted, they are complementary. After my reading of the careful analysis presented in this book, it seems very clear that the split is based more on limited perceptions of the contributions or potential contributions to social studies education of rivals in the other camp, possibly fed by prejudices, certainly by different experiences and values. I want to demonstrate one way to amalgamate the two positions, showing how they can

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logically fit together. This can be accomplished by softening certain contradictory positions, combining the mutually supportive strengths of each tradition, and de-emphasizing historical differences which we have grown beyond. The synthesis proposed here appears to me to be a truer representation of both Dewey and the scientific tradition, which Dewey himself saw as one.

The Retrieval Chart at the end of my remarks is my summary of the authors' characterization in Chapter Five of the differences in the Social Science and Reflective Inquiry traditions. Although I have tried to be faithful to the analysis presented, my summary highlights both the complementary and contradictory aspects of each tradition, emphasizing the prejudices embodied in the traditions (or in the authors' models of the traditions). Here are the main points made by the authors.

Social Science people are discipline bound and content oriented. Social scientists are bound by their specific discipline and by the structure of that discipline (which the authors seem to define along the lines set forth by Schwab).[1] Their goal is to turn everyone into little social science disciplinarians. Citizenship education means learning to apply discipline-oriented scientific knowledge and methods to solve social problems. Social science disciplinarians tend to bring into curriculum work other prejudices: (1) science is important for its own sake; (2) scientific problems are intrinsically a turn-on and of interest to students; (3) science is and should be value neutral so that one must separate scientific inquiry from values clarification; (4) scientific approaches alone are enough for social studies, scientific inquiry being the only important problem-solving mode; (5) the trouble with social studies materials has been that scientists have not been adequately involved. From the social studies educator's point of view, the Social Science approach is practiced by people who are too discipline oriented, too content oriented, who place too much importance on science *per se*, who define inquiry and skills acquisition narrowly as scientific inquiry and analysis, and who are snobs.

The Reflective Inquiry people de-emphasize content learning and emphasize both skills and values development in children. They do not value the structure of the individual disciplines, which they see as a "body of imposed conceptions" of reality. They believe that there is no externally existing body of knowledge which must be learned. Rather, students should develop a body of personally tested and valued insights growing out of their own experience. Academic knowledge is used as a data base for student inquiries. The emphasis in this approach is on inquiry which is not just analytic, but incorporates values clarification and development. This school sees Reflective Inquiry as broader and fundamentally more practical than scientific inquiry because it is organized around a generalized problem-solving procedure which I had always associated with "the scientific method." As to values objectives, this tradition views the United States as a pluralistic society with no formal ideology, therefore with no "correct" value system to inculcate. Belief in inquiry is the only or main absolute value. From the Social Science point of view, the Reflective Inquiry approach lacks rigor and structure because of the de-emphasis of content and the importance of structured learning of scientific knowledge and scientific problem-solving skills. Some would consider the statement that there is no formal ideology as factually wrong, and the position that we live in a pluralistic society as, at the very least, misleading.

One can analyze these two traditions for strengths and weaknesses, and for places where philosophic positions have or can be changed to integrate the two points of view. The Social Science position is weak insofar as it relies on teaching the structures of individual disciplines, retains the value neutrality position, and scoffs at any but the scientific mode of inquiry. Its strength lies in a fundamental belief in science, rationality, order, and structured knowledge which portrays reality—if you will, a faith in the power of ideas and the ability to bring about human progress through the development and application of science to human affairs.

The Reflective Inquiry approach seems weak mainly because it devalues social science knowledge and skills, and because of the relativistic position about both knowledge and values in our society. I believe the view is factually inaccurate that there is no formal ideology in United States society, and that there is no formal body of knowledge about the world we live in which is empowering in dealing with everyday life. Furthermore, that the United States, as a complex, industrial, state-level society, is culturally heterogeneous is not the same as saying that it is a pluralistic society. Picturing the power structure as pluralistic is much harder to defend. The strength in the Reflective Inquiry approach lies in its broad view of reflective inquiry as embodying various modes of problem solving and incorporating values development as part of the inquiry process.

The Retrieval Chart summarizes a suggested amalgam of the Social Science and Reflective Inquiry traditions which reflects these criticisms of the two schools and shows how the best of both can be incorporated into a more powerful view of social studies objectives. I feel that there are existing curricula—ours as one—reflecting this point of view.

Footnotes

[1] Joseph Schwab, "The Concept of the Structure of a Discipline," *The Educational Record*, July, 1962, pp. 197–205. "The Structure of a discipline consists, in part, of the body of imposed conceptions which define the investigated subject matter of that discipline and control its inquiries" (p. 199). "By the syntactical structure of the disciplines I mean the pattern of its procedure, its method, how it goes about using its conceptions to attain its goals" (p. 203). See also "Structure of the Disciplines, Meaning and Significance," G. W. Ford and L. Pugno, *The Structure of Knowledge and the Curriculum* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964), pp. 29–30.

RETRIEVAL CHART: COMPARISON OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCE TRADITION, THE REFLECTIVE INQUIRY SOCIAL STUDIES TRADITION, AND THE SS ↔ RI AMALGAM

Traditions	Knowledge Objectives	Values Objectives	Skills Objectives	Participation Objectives
Social Science	The concepts, problems, processes—i.e. the structure of the discipline. Translate this into things which give appreciation of the discipline and skill in using this knowledge: (1) data, information, principles, and assumptions within the discipline; (2) use of these to get new knowledge. They believe in the accuracy of this knowledge, that it provides the key to understanding the complexities of modern life. Learn each discipline structure as well as interrelated structures.	Initially social scientists believed in a value-free social science values stance, or a value-neutral stance: social science teaches cognitive processes and leaves value decisions to the individual. Moved away from this position. The highest value is the knowledge inherent in the discipline. This is the most valuable knowledge regardless of its usefulness. It is broadening, and herein lies its ultimate usefulness. Thus, values conflicts are used as springboard for social science inquiry, not because of their intrinsic importance.	Internalize, then apply the ways of the disciplinarian. Teach youth to think and process information like social scientists, to be junior social scientists. For each discipline, expose students to problems of the discipline. Have students discover how social scientists perceive the world. If they internalize the structure, they will get a better perception of the world; therefore they will make better decisions.	Come to understand social phenomena and make decisions accordingly. To the extent students discover and internalize social science concepts and structures, they can apply them if they can transfer their relevance to real world problems. Prepares them for wide variety of decisions and activities; e.g., externalities: "Students who understand the concept have . . . discovered an important part of the structure of economic theory. They are in a better position to identify a real social problem and thus can apply what they have learned. . . ." p. 92
Reflective Inquiry	It is not content from any discipline, but a body of personally tested *insights*. The academic body of knowledge is used as data in student inquiries. There is no externally existing body of knowledge which must be learned, but a body of tested insights that grow out of the problem and the resolution of the problem.	Values are an inherent part of the inquiry process, not to be transmitted, or to be considered only after disciplinary analysis. Though there may be an historical tradition, there is no formal ideology in our pluralistic society; therefore, it is not possible to insist on a correct value system. The only absolute value is the inquiry process. Students ought to value inquiry and evaluation. "If we have faith in inquiry, we should have confidence in the ability of students [through] rational decision making to choose what they ought to prefer." p. 89	Based on how we actually think. Meaning is not delayed; it is wrought, constructed, as the student attempts to make sense of an unclear, confusing situation. Can perfect this natural process in a school setting. Steps: define problem, hypothesize, gather data, draw conclusions, reassess, etc. An active, consecutive, and careful search for answers that fulfill an important human need.	Schools as potential labs for democracy: (1) Set up in schools analogs of real life experience; growth comes through analysis of this experience; (2) real participation in events outside school; (3) in classroom, help students examine experience which tends to be off limits—drugs, race, etc. Recognize that rational reflection can lead to nonaction.
Social Science Reflective Inquiry Amalgam	Concepts, problems, inquiry processes which represent an empowering structure of knowledge about social reality. Students develop this structure gradually through encounters with reality which give them insight and appreciation of this knowledge and its usefulness. The objective is not to learn to apply structures of individual disciplines *per se*, except in classes devoted to a given discipline, but to develop and apply a world view which integrates important insights and structures from the social science disciplines. Each student will develop a unique, personal, cognitive structure, which incorporates the *basics* of this world view, thus incorporating what we have come to know about ourselves, our social relations, and social change.	Application of societal and personal values is an inherent part of the inquiry process. These scientific values as well as values implicit in our democratic government and capitalist economic structures comprise the basis of our ideology as a society. Even our view of ourselves as a pluralistic society is a values position based on our world view. Our historical tradition provides insights into our ideology, as does social science "knowledge." Students should learn to value scientific inquiry, scientific "knowledge" as a *process* of inquiry, rational problem solving, the contribution of the social sciences to our understanding of society and everyday life, group decision making, personal growth, and change.	Teach learning/thinking skills, as well as practical scientific tools, as part of reflective inquiry. Students learn how to use methods of scientific practice which involve: defining the problem, hypothesizing, gathering data, analyzing data, drawing conclusions, reassessing, etc. Skills acquisition in school is but an intensification of the natural process of cognitive development which involves the gradual differentiation and integration of knowledge into one's own cognitive structure. This process involves development of abstract reasoning and moral functioning. As students develop a powerful cognitive structure which incorporates scientific knowledge and reasoning, they will develop a more realistic perception of their world and will be able to make better decisions.	To the extent students discover and internalize a scientific understanding of society and can transfer this knowledge to real-life problem solving, they will be better able to participate in social relations. Recognize the socializing function of schools and the concomitant limitations of school experience in simulating out-of-school reality. Where possible set up analogs of real life experience in school, and use out-of-school experience as well.

COMMENTS OF JAMES P. SHAVER

The definition of basic terms in a field is a most important task. Defining terms is not just a "semantic" game. Or, perhaps put more appropriately, it is a serious semantic game, because the definitions we attach to terms do affect how we think. In that sense, definitions are often persuasive: Word meanings lead us to believe and to act in certain ways.

Some years ago, I suggested that there was a pressing need to attend to the definition of social studies.[1] My call for a redefinition of social studies was based on the belief that much of the ineffectiveness of social studies education in accomplishing citizenship education goals was due to the definition of social studies that underlay much development work and teaching. That definition, which Barr, Barth, and Shermis refer to early in Chapter One, is that the social studies are the social sciences simplified and adapted for pedagogical purposes. This definition, which apparently has its roots somewhere in the early twentieth century,[2] accommodated very nicely the thrust toward teaching students the structures of the social science disciplines which dominated the so-called new social studies projects of the 1960s.[3]

Of course, to say that the domination of social studies curriculum development by the academic structuralists in that period was only a matter of a congenial definition would be a gross oversimplification. Elsewhere I have alluded to the tendency of social studies teachers to be abstractly oriented and to take on the value orientations of academicians in regard to the nature of knowledge.[4] And, at a time that the need for improving social studies gained attention, prestigious academicians were making their marks in curriculum development in the sciences and mathematics. (Later evaluations indicated that the effectiveness of the products did not measure up to the initial enthusiasm. The prophet of the structure of the disciplines movement, Jerome Bruner, even apostatized to the problems approach camp.[5]) But the definition of the social studies with the logical sequence flowing from the social sciences to the social studies was certainly, in my judgment, a major part of the problem. And it seemed essential that if social studies education was to be congruent with and contribute to the accomplishment of the citizenship goals commonly stated for the area, that definitional problem needed to be addressed as part of the generally neglected process of building rationales for social studies education.

Although I have doubts about some of the overgeneralizations that Barr, Barth, and Shermis make in tracing the evolution of social studies, I share their view that there is greater agreement now than in the 1960s that the central purpose of social studies is citizenship educa-

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tion[6]—although there is still considerable disagreement as to what good citizenship is and how to try to achieve it.

As Barr, Barth, and Shermis indicate in Chapter Four, the field has evolved to the point that a definition of social studies focused on citizenship makes descriptive as well as prescriptive sense. As they also note, the definition of the field will continue to evolve. Frankly, my hope is that the evolution will be toward greater clarity and consistency in regard to the general objectives of citizenship education, rather than movement away from citizenship education as the centering concept.

The Definition

Recall, the definition Barr, Barth, and Shermis present is that "the social studies is an integration of experience and knowledge concerning human relations for the purpose of citizenship education." This definition of social studies is apparently intended [7] to be descriptive, reflecting the current state of the field. However, the lack of specific reference to social science and history seems more visionary and prescriptive than descriptive of what is happening in schools today. I doubt that many social studies programs or courses are recognizable by the Barr, Barth, and Shermis definition. There is nothing inherently wrong with the seeming discrepancy between reality and the definition—unless the definition is really meant to be descriptive, or the claim of descriptiveness conceals, intentionally or unintentionally, an attempt to be persuasive as to what social studies *should* be.

I have some other problems with the definition. For one thing, it leaves me with an uneasy feeling of vagueness, perhaps because it lacks any referent in the schooling process (as contrasted with the lifelong process of education for which the schools and educators are only partially responsible). I need some hint as to "the context" in which the "integration of experience and knowledge" is to take place.

The word "integration" is itself troublesome. Without meaning to quibble or be quarrelsome, it seems to me to be an inappropriate word with which to describe social studies currently. After years of unresolved argument over what it means to integrate the social sciences for general education and whether such integration can be achieved, I doubt that the term has much practical or theoretical meaning [8] as used in the definition. That is, I doubt that it will be clarifying for either those faced with teaching decisions in classrooms or university-types trying to conceptualize social studies education.

The apparent restrictiveness of the term "human relations" is also of concern to me. Does focusing on the "integration of experience and knowledge concerning human relations" exclude our collective knowledge and experience in regard to ways of rational decision-making? And, ironically, do "experience and knowledge" encompass affective aims that some argue [9] are vital to citizenship education?

The Categories of Social Studies

Just as a definition of social studies will impact how people believe and behave, so will the categorizations we adopt for construing reality. The categories of social studies as citizenship transmission, social science, and reflective inquiry that Barr, Barth, and Shermis use in discussing the field have potential dysfunctionalities. Despite the proffering of a "consensual" definition of social studies, analysis using the three traditions categories may tend to fragment the field unnecessarily. This concern is heightened by Barr, Barth, and Shermis' references to the three traditions as, for example, "not complementary areas" but "actually antagonistic, competitive philosophical systems—each[10] striving to emerge as *the one true* social studies."

The categories seem too forced and arbitrary (for example, I see my own position on social studies as encompassing elements of all three "traditions") and, in the case of citizenship transmission, too negatively laden to encourage discourse. My hesitancy about the validity of the traditions for describing what is going on in social studies in the schools stems from these characteristics of the categories and from doubts about the validity of the limited evidence from the attitudinal instrument that Barr, Barth, and Shermis use to support their claim. I would conjecture, for example, that despite the responses of many teachers that may have indicated a citizenship transmission orientation (defined in the Barr, Barth, and Shermis mode of indoctrination and inculcation), much of what goes on in their classrooms would be in a simplified social science mode simply because that is what is generally available—and what sells—in textbooks.

Barr, Barth, and Shermis say that "The Three Traditions are certainly only one way of organizing the field," but that qualification does not go far enough. The categories are a means of *analyzing*, not of organizing, the field; once the analysis is done, the major task of organization remains. If one believes, as I do, that the traditions are not mutually exclusive, then, an adequate conceptualization of social studies must include, among others, queries as to how schools can fulfill a legitimate role in cultural transmission,[11] how social science knowledge and intellectual approaches, as well as various reflective inquiry positions, relate to and can contribute to citizenship education. Such questions, of course, take one far beyond the question of how to define social studies, into the essential matter of rationale-building.[12] But one's definition of social studies will have much to do with whether the right questions are asked and the answers sought in the right ways and in the right places.

Some notion of where the field is definition-wise can be helpful, especially to those who have particular views of social studies to propagate. But for those who are making the hard day-to-day decisions—the teachers and, to some extent, local social studies supervisors—the

more important question is the adequacy of their definitions. And here care is needed that someone else's description does not unthinkingly become one's own prescription.

Footnotes

[1] James P. Shaver. Social studies: The need for redefinition. *Social Education*, 1967 (November), *31*, pp. 588–593.

[2] Although often attributed to Edgar Wesley, who popularized it in a text, *Teaching Social Studies in High School*, first published by D.C. Heath in 1937, the definition seems to have come from the work of the Committee on the Social Studies of the National Education Association's Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education. See, for example, *The Social Studies in Secondary Education*. Bulletin No. 28. Washington, D.C., U.S. Bureau of Education, 1916.

[3] For an excellent account of that period, see John Haas. *The era of the new social studies*. Boulder, CO: Social Science Education Consortium, 1977.

[4] See, e.g., Shaver, ibid.; James P. Shaver. A critical view of the social studies profession. *Social Education*, 1977 (April), *41*, pp. 300–307.

[5] See, Jerome Bruner. The Process of Education revisited. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 1971 (Sept.), *52*, p. 19.

[6] The action by the NCSS Board of Directors in May of 1975 stipulating that citizenship education is the focus of social studies education and that, therefore, the Executive Director should represent the National Council from that orientation certainly adds corroborating evidence. See Jean Tilford Claugus. Report of the President to the Board of Directors and the House of Delegates of the National Council for the Social Studies. Atlanta, November 1975.

[7] At this writing, I have not seen the latest version of the manuscript. But I assume that that intent survived the revisions of the manuscript that followed prior reactions to it.

[8] Not that the two are all that different, as Dewey tried to make clear. See, e.g., James P. Shaver. Needed: A Deweyean rationale for social studies. *High School Journal*, 1977 (May), *60*, pp. 345–52.

[9] See, e.g., James P. Shaver and William Strong. *Facing Value Decisions: Rationale-building for teachers*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1976; and James P. Shaver, "The task of rationale-building for citizenship education." In James Shaver (Ed.), *Building rationales for citizenship education*. Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, in press.

[10] Unfortunately, reifications like this occurred in other parts of the manuscript that I read. To attribute substance to the philosophies in this way directs attention away from the critical point—the thinking that individual social studies educators do.

[11] See, e.g., Mark G. Yudof. The dilemma of children's authority. *Policy Analysis*, 1976, *2*, pp. 387–407.

[12] See Fred Newmann. Building a rationale for civic education. In James P. Shaver (Ed.), *Building rationales for citizenship education*, ibid.

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